THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

THE FRANCISCAN ORDER IN CASTILE, c. 1440 - c. 1560

GERALDINE McKENDRICK

Thesis Submitted For The Degree
of Doctor of Philosophy,
University of Edinburgh

1987

ABSTRACT

The most important religious order in the later medieval and early modern kingdom of Castile was without any doubt that of the Order of Friars Minor. To date, however, historians have devoted remarkably little attention to the history of the Franciscans and the significant contributions which they made to the spiritual and social life of the period. Moreover, such studies as there are tend to concentrate on either traditional hagiographical themes or matters related to the history of ecclesiastical politics.

This thesis attempts to study the growth, popularity, and spirituality of the Franciscans within the context of the social and political trends of the period. The first half is about patronage, the role played by the friars in the Durango heresy, the phenomenon of the Illuminists, and the growth of anti-semitism. The second half is particularly devoted to the female religious, who have been almost entirely ignored, or treated perfunctorily as handmaidens to the dominant males. Numerically of great importance as members of the Second and Third Orders, of the Order of the Immaculate Conception, and as beatas, this thesis analyses their financial problems and organisation, their dowries and social background, their demography, and their fascinating spiritual experiences.

The chronological period covered runs from c. 1440 to c. 1560, and the second half tends to focus, but not exclusively, on female religious in Córdoba and Toledo.

CONTENTS

Page

FOOTNOTES

APPENDICES

MAPS

CONVENTIONS AND ABBREVIATIONS

With respect to authors who have published more than one book or more than one article, I have cited their publications by using short titles rather than op. cit. or art. cit.

In the case of Alonso de Espina's Fortalitium Fidei, or Forteresse de la Foy, I have simply used Fortalitium or Forteresse after the initial and full citing of the editions used.

After the initial and full citing of the documentation relating to the trial or Proceso of Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, I have cited the Proceso as follows: AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol. The folios of this trial are numbered in two different ways. When only one number is cited, it is the folio number stamped in arabic numerals on the top right-hand corner of the recto page.

Although the publication by Uribe and Lejarza runs to over 1.000 pages (see Bibliography), I have cited it as an 'article' because it appeared as a volume of the periodical Archivo Ibero-Americano.

When quoting from Spanish sources, I have translated into English to facilitate the reading of the text. In many such cases, however, I have given the original Spanish passages in the footnotes.

The following abbreviations have been used:-

A.D.M.	Archivo de los Duques de Medinaceli
A.H.N.	Archivo Histórico Nacional
A.I.A.	Archivo Ibero-Americano
Annales E.S.C.	Annales : Economies, Sociétés, Civilisations
B.H.	Bulletin Hispanique
B.N.	Biblioteca Nacional
B.R.A.H.	Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia
CODOIN	Colección de documentos inéditos para la Historia de España
Fr.	Fray
M.C.V.	Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez
MRS.	Maravedíes
Per km^2	per square kilometre
R.A.B.M.	Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos

PART A

THE FRANCISCAN ORDER IN CASTILE

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXT

The Order of Friars Minor, inspired by the life and work of St Francis of Assisi, had an extraordinary impact on many parts of medieval Europe, in particular in Italy and Spain. The popularity of the Friars Minor, whose appeal transcended social and political boundaries, transformed what had been an informal, loosely structured brotherhood into a bureaucratic, international order.[1] The success and influence of the Franciscans and other mendicant orders on the social and religious history of the period has been the subject of considerable debate. Historians have sought to explain the phenomenon of mendicant success through an analysis of the friars' spirituality, their pastoral and preaching programme, their relationship with patrons, and the role they played in contemporary social and political movements. The most influential work to date, however, has addressed itself to the question of the relationship between the friars and urbanisation. The starting point of this debate was the observation that the friars emerged and flourished in an urban environment and, to a large extent, remained an integral feature of medieval urban life, in sharp contrast to the contemplative, rural, monasticism of the older religious orders.[2] This phenomenon of mendicant settlement in the towns was accomplished through the patronage of influential members of the local community who provided the

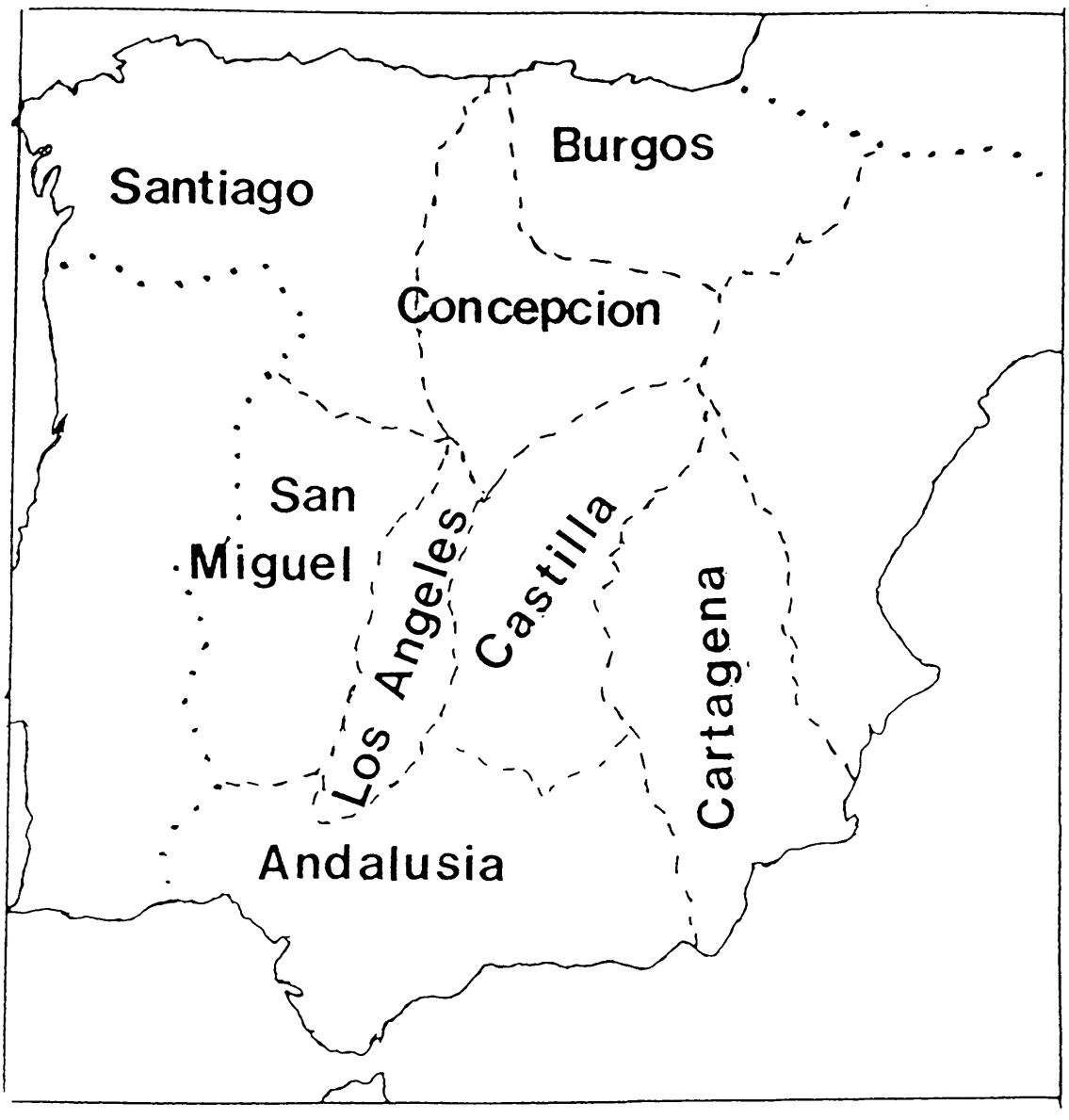
friars with both conventual buildings and financial support. The relationship between the emergence of the friars, their settlement in towns, and the support given them by patrons formed the basis of the work produced by L K Little on mendicant values and the profit economy in thirteenth century Italy, and of the investigation by Le Goff and his team into the links between the mendicant orders and urbanisation in medieval France.[3]

Little showed that in nothern Italy a reconciliation was possible between mendicant values and the entrepreneurial values of patrons, who were predominantly merchants and bankers, through a process of assimilation and transformation of mercantile terms and concepts into the friars' pastoral and preaching vocabulary.[4] The friars provided their patrons with an outlet for their philanthropic impulses, and simultaneously offered them a justification for their wealth and status. The starting point of Le Goff's study was the hypothesis that an urban map of medieval France coincided with a map of mendicant houses and, hence, of a connection between the demographic structures of urban centres and the presence of mendicant houses within these centres.[5] His work showed significant chronological variations in the pattern of mendicant settlement and differences between the type of mendicant order and the size of a town. For example, with regard to the Franciscans, Le Goff found that friaries tended to be found in small towns and that those founded in the fif-

teenth century were mainly built outside rather than inside the city walls.[6]

How do these Italian and French models contribute to an understanding of the nature and spread of Franciscan settlements in the kingdom of Castile? The guidelines laid down by Litte and Le Goff certainly offer some suggestive parallels with the diffusion and the social geography of Castilian Franciscanism. However, these aspects can only be properly understood within the wider framework of the institutional changes which took place in the Franciscan Order in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[7] A narrative description of these changes is thus necessary before embarking on a detailed analysis of the geography and patronage systems of the Friars Minor in Castile.

St Francis bequeathed to his nascent order two written rules in which he stressed the ideals of poverty and obedience and left a rudimentary outline for the administration of the order.[8] The main characteristics of the Friars Minor were obedience to papal authority and to their own ministers, and an absolute rejection of material goods. The head of the Franciscan Order was known as the Minister General, who originally held the office for life; on his death, his successor was elected at a General Chapter meeting. The order was divided into administrative units known as 'provinces' which were under



FRANCISCAN PROVINCES, c. **1560**

the jurisdiction of officials known as 'Provincial Ministers' who were elected at Provincial Chapters for a fixed term. Up to the end of the fifteenth century it was customary for a further sub-division to be made into what was termed a 'custody' under the jurisdiction of a 'Custodian'. At local level friaries were under the headship of a 'Guardian' whose second-in-command was a 'Vicar'. In areas where there were insufficient friaries to constitute a fully fledged province or custody, an administrative unit was set up known as a 'vicariate'.[9] Additional officials helped these Franciscan superiors at all levels, from that of the individual Guardian up to that of the Minister General, by assuming specific administrative and supervisory duties.

For example, a Guardian was aided by several councillors (discretos) within a friary, while officials known as 'definers' (definidores) played an analogous role at provincial level; 'commissioners' were occasionally given responsibility at national level and, finally, at the highest level an official known as the 'Cardinal Protector' was nominated. Although the Franciscan Order appears to have been organised along traditional, hierarchical lines, there were subtle differences in the way in which authority was exercised compared with the older monastic orders. The fact that friars could move from friary to friary, and sometimes transfer from one province to another, and that later officials were elected for a three year

period, served to circumscribe the authority of friars in promoted posts. St Francis had also stressed in his second written rule that authority was to be exercised with charity and humility; the example of Francis' own humble lifestyle and his reluctance to invest too much authority in his own person, epitomised by his famous act of submission to Innocent III, offered future generations of friars a clear illustration of his perception of the nature and exercise of authority.[10]

The outstanding characteristic of Franciscanism was undoubtedly its emphasis on poverty. The disciples of Francis were to be poor in spirit and in material goods, they were permitted to own one poor tunic and cord (and shoes if they found these necessary), they were forbidden to possess money either personally or through a proctor, and they were to sustain themselves through the alms they received through begging, manual work, or pastoral activities.[11] The friars were not expected to live in permanent communities but were to take shelter where they could find it and go about the world as 'pilgrims and strangers'. This material poverty was to go hand in hand with a corresponding 'poverty' in speech and spirit: early preaching guidelines recommended plain speaking and brevity in sermons, and friars who were unlettered were to remain as such. In short, the Franciscans were to possess a bare minimum, both materially and intellectually. Thus it was that Francis, a merchant's son,

rejected wholesale the values of his family background, and in espousing the antithetical ideals of humility and poverty provided a radical alternative to thirteenth century entrepeneurial values.[12]

A spirituality such as this, however, was impossible to reconcile with the needs of a rapidly expanding order and, on a practical level, the Franciscans had to develop certain survival mechanisms in order to adapt to the realities of the secular world while, at the same time, attempting to remain faithful to the spirit of St Francis' written rules. Factionalism and dissent within the Franciscan Order in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were perhaps the natural consequences of a failure to reconcile the fundamental tension between the ideal of poverty and the realities of secular life.[13] In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries reliance on alms and shelter quickly gave way to the establishment of permanent friaries in the towns and the acceptance of rents and incomes. Libraries and schools were built in Franciscan houses, and friars were sent to universities. As a reaction to this type of Franciscanism, sporadic reform movements emerged from within the Order which called for a return to primitive Franciscan ideals. The 'Spirituals', as these reformers were known because of their rejection of secular life, came into conflict with both the unreformed Franciscans, or 'Conventuals' as they were known, and the Pope, and they were also used as a pawn in the

early fourteenth century struggles between Empire and Papacy. Controversies within the Order focussed on the issue of absolute poverty - that is, on whether friars should reject incomes, rents or any other source of regular income, and hold fast to their founder's complete rejection of money, or whether they should be permitted to use these remts corporately, while not retaining any proprietorial rights.[14] This issue, over dominium and usus, was eventually referred to the Pope for arbitration, who pronounced in favour of the Conventual Franciscans. The absolute poverty doctrine of the Spirituals was condemned as heretical and these early Franciscan reformers became the victims of inquisitorial persecution.[15] This condemnation, however, failed to silence dissent within the Order, and reform groups emerged periodically to voice criticisms of Conventual Franciscanism.

In the late fourteenth century reform groups began to win wider support among the laity, and an organised movement known as the Regular Observance emerged;[16] in the fifteenth century these Observant friars managed to gain special privileges from the Papacy which led to the creation of a separate administrative and juridical structure. This division between the unreformed Conventuals and the Observants was by no means the only one within the Franciscan Order; numerous breakaway reform groups emerged, each of which claimed to be the true descendant of the earliest Franciscans. In Castile the most influential

of these reform groups were the Villacrecians, although the descalzos at a later date also had a significant impact on specific regions of Castile.[17]

Fr Pedro de Villacreces began his reform in the late fourteenth century in a hermitage in Arlanza, and by 1418 he had built up a strong enough following to obtain special privileges for his reformed friaries from the Pope at the Council of Constance.[18] These privileges granted his 'custody' a certain degree of autonomy, although it remained under the jurisdiction of the Conventuals.[19] Despite the fact that Villacrecian foundations were restricted in their geographical spread, being limited to specific areas of Old and New Castile, their influence on the titled nobility and on the Franciscan Order as a whole outweighed their numerical inferiority. The Villacrecians received the support and patronage of the Velasco family in the area around Burgos, and of the Manrique de Lara family in the Palencia region.[20] The Villacrecians were in many respects the direct descendants of the Spiritual Franciscans.[21] In their houses the vow of poverty was strictly observed, and their churches were bare and humble, with gold and silver only being used for chalices and other sacred vessels. The friars were forbidden to beg for money and could only accept alms in kind - for example, bread, fruit, vegetables, wine for Mass, and meat for their sick. Their lifestyle was ascetic and contemplative. They observed regular

fasts, as well as the traditional fast from All Saints to Easter, and they abstained from eating meat; they observed a rigorous silence and spent an average of twelve hours daily in prayer, with special hours designated for different kinds of prayers and ceremonies. Restrictions were also imposed on the mobility of Villacrecian friars as they could only transfer to another friary with the consent of the whole community. Lay-people were denied access to their houses, with the exception of the patron and physician and, among their fellow Franciscans, only the Minister General and Provincial were allowed access.

With regard to education and learning, the Villacrecians followed the primitive rules of St Francis to the letter. Fr Lope de Salazar y Salinas, whose many writings provide a corpus of first-hand evidence for the study of the Villacrecian reform, explained how Fr Pedro de Villacreces actively discouraged novices from studying:

> 'The first lesson which Villacreces taught his disciples was to decry and abhor the study of letters ... Because of this he wished and ordered that a friar should persevere and remain in the same condition...'[22]

This stance, however, did not imply a complete rejection of learning as friars were permitted to read, or have read to them, certain devotional and mystical works.[23] It was rather a rejection of speculative and scholastic

theology as a suitable method of serving God, and was thus in stark contrast to the intellectual and academic pretensions of the Conventual Franciscans. According to Andrés Martín, this intellectual asceticism had two important ramifications: firstly, it helped foster a spirituality which had certain similarities with the devotio moderna; and secondly, it formed the mainspring of certain sixteenth century mystical and illuminist ideas.[24]

The location of Villacrecian houses represented a new and uniquely Castilian trend among reformed Franciscans. Villacreces considered that a physical distance from the temptations of secular life was essential for the survival of his reform. For this reason Villacrecian houses were built in isolated rural areas, sometimes in difficult terrain: the three main houses of the Villacrecian reform - La Aguilera, El Abrojo and La Salceda - were all constructed in the countryside, and the friaries and hermitages established under the patronage of the Velasco were also predominantly located in forests and in the sierras.[25]

An offshoot of the Villacrecian movement, under the leadership of Villacreces' disciple, Fr Pedro de Santoyo, settled in the lands belonging to the Manrique de Lara, the Adelantados of Castile. Friaries were built near Villasilos, Valdescopezo, Paredes de Nava, and Calahorra de Campos.[26]

However, for reasons that remain unclear, this particular group of friaries failed to remain part of the Villacrecian 'custody' and became associated with the Regular Observant movement.[27] By 1456, when Fr Lope de Salazar y Salinas was summoned to appear in front of the Royal Council to answer charges made against him and his friars, the term 'Santoyan' had become synonymous with 'Observant'.[28] According to Fr Lope, the Observants were absorbed into the 'Santoyan' movement aided and abetted by the local nobility.[29]

It is difficult to disentangle the reasons behind this faction fighting between the Villacrecians and the 'Santoyan Observants'. At one level the controversies seemed to be about petty jurisdictional disputes - and certainly papal legislation bears witness to the pendulum of concession and withdrawal of special privileges and dispensations to the various factions within the Franciscan Order.[30] The timing of these disputes, however, and the prominent role played by the Castilian aristocracy, suggest that political motives lay behind these apparently superficial jurisdictional quarrels. For whatever reason, the Villacrecians nonetheless played a decisive role in changing the face of Castilian Franciscanism. Astonishingly, they succeeded in setting up 'spiritual' regimes in their friaries a century after the Spiritual Franciscans had been condemned by the Papacy.[31] They attracted the support and patronage of sectors of the titled nobility,

and altered the map of Franciscanism by settling in the countryside. Finally, Villacrecian spirituality had a resonance in sixteenth century Spain in movements such as those of the recogidos and alumbrados.[32]

In fifteenth century Castile the most successful reform group, in terms of numbers, was the movement known as the Regular Observance.[33] In fact it is probably misleading to describe the early Observants as a movement as such, as reform groups had emerged simultaneously in different parts of Castile, only gradually crystallising into an organised, self-conscious movement. The main rivals of the Observants were the Conventuals, whose lax lifestyle had little in common with the original disciples of St Francis. Andrés Martín describes the differences between the two factions in the following way:

> 'The Observants at this time were the supporters of a return to the original foundational fervour - lovers of austerity, poverty, life in common, retreat, and the primitive rule. The Conventuals favoured well-appointed convents, a lax religious life in tune with the times, concessions in the rule, and tolerance of individual foibles. They lived like the lords of the better social sectors of the age, enjoying a controlled independence with little signs of a communal life.'34

This description illustrates that the Observants shared many of the beliefs of the Villacrecians, but whereas the latter wished reform to be carried out from within

the Conventual movement, the Observants pursued a separatist policy which eventually led to the creation of an independent Observant administration. Eugenius IV's Bull Ut Sacra Ordines Minorum (1446) stipulated that the Provincials of the Observants, known as Provincial Vicars rather than Ministers, were to be put on a permanent basis and elected at Observant provincial chapter meetings.[35] This decree marked a milestone in Observant history, and henceforth the Observant movement, despite temporary setbacks through the legislation of unsympathetic Popes, systematically began to oust Conventuals from their friaries. But despite these Observant gains, the Conventuals remained a powerful pressure group and periodically managed to obtain important concessions from both the Papacy and the Castilian monarchy.[36]

By the end of the fifteenth century the Conventuals were in retreat, and the Observants had gained the ascendancy in terms of numbers, patrons and prestige.[37] The Villacrecian challenge was neutralised by the gradual absorption of their friaries, and the Conventuals were forced to reform by a powerful alliance between the Catholic Monarchs and Fr Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, Archbishop of Toledo and an Observant Franciscan.[38]

The victory of the Observants over the Villacrecians and Conventuals was to some extent due to a favourable conjuncture of political circumstances in the late fifteenth

and early sixteenth centuries. The support given by Isabel the Catholic was of great importance for the Observant cause. In contrast to the equivocations of her predecessors, the Queen came down decisively on the Observant side by selecting Cisneros as Archbishop of Toledo and as Visitor General of the religious orders in Spain.[39] After her death his political influence increased through his appointment as Inquisitor General and as Regent of Spain.

However, the fundamental reason for the Observants' success was their capacity to contain within the movement a diverse range of Franciscan lifestyles. Villacrecian and Conventual Franciscanism represented opposite poles of the spectrum: the Villacrecians followed an austere, contemplative lifestyle, and rejected the exploitation of property; the Conventuals believed in retaining material comforts such as large conventual buildings and ornate churches. Observantine Franciscanism presented a <u>via media</u> between these two extremes: on the one hand it condemned the Conventuals' lavish lifestyle, yet on the other hand it allowed its patrons to build and embellish magnificent friaries.[40] The Observants owned no rents or incomes, but they received regular donations for chantries, and benefited from non-monetary privileges such as fishing, hunting, and woodcutting rights. Thus, in contrast to the austerity of the Villacrecians and the decadence of the Conventuals, the Observants catered for

a wide range of spiritual and intellectual tastes, and this paradoxically lessened the possibility of rival factions emerging from their midst. In the early sixteenth century they designated a certain number of houses within each province as 'recollects' where friars, if they wished, could follow a contemplative, Villacrecian-type regime.[41] Schools of study were established in certain friaries and, in 1502, Cisneros, who had spent his noviciate in the Villacrecian house of La Salceda, founded a university college in Alcalá for Franciscan friars.[42] Thus the Observants skilfully deployed the Villacrecian weapon of asceticism and the Conventual weapon of learning for their own ends.

With regard to location, here too the Observants adopted the middle ground. Their friaries tended to be situated outside the walls of a town but within walking distance for themselves and their urban audiences.[43] Some historians have argued that this shift from inside to outside the town walls may have coincided with urban expansion, with the friars taking on the role of evangelising the 'suburbs':[44] On the other hand, in some areas it can also be linked to the friars' new role of Christianising the countryside.[45] More appropriately, however, the location of Franciscan houses outside towns can also be seen as a compromise solution to the fundamental tension between a 'purist' Spiritual regime and the preaching and penitential functions of urban Franciscanism.

The Geography of Castilian Franciscanism[46]

Castilian Franciscanism underwent a spectacular expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1506 there were approximately 146 Observant houses in the kingdom of Castile, including hermitages and male tertiary houses;[47] by 1591 this number had increased to 296 houses which contained more than 4,400 friars.[48] These figures, however, mask important chronological and geographical variations in the pattern of Franciscan settlement. Why did some regions of Castile produce more friaries than others? Why did Franciscan expansion occur earlier in some regions than in others? Two important factors - the demographic structure of a region and the nature of patronage - must be considered in examining these variations.

As has been mentioned, the Franciscan Order was divided into administrative units known as custodies and provinces. It would be misleading, however, to discuss Franciscan expansion province by province, as the boundaries of provinces were frequently being adjusted in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to take account of the increasing number of foundations.[49] In this discussion of the patronage and geography of Castilian Franciscanism, therefore, reference will be made to the relevant partido rather than to the larger provincial unit.[50] Also, as certain regions were unremarkable as far as the spread of Franciscanism is concerned, and as it would be tedious to reiterate this point, detailed discussion will be focus-

sed on those areas which were more 'colonised' by the Franciscans.

In the partidos of Asturias, Ponferrada, Lugo, La Coruña, Orense, Mondoñedo, Santiago, and Tuy approximately twenty six friaries were founded between 1214 and 1570, fifteen of which were founded in the thirteenth century.[51] As we shall see, the chronological pattern of this area differs markedly from other areas of Castile, as the main expansion took place early and reached a peak of eight foundations between 1214 - 19.[52] In the fourteenth century, more typically, the rate of expansion slowed down to four foundations. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, more puzzlingly, when the Regular Observant movement was making great inroads in other parts of Castile, the Galicia and Asturias area remained remarkably untouched, producing only seven more foundations in this period.[53]

Several hypotheses can be put forward to explain the unusual pattern of Franciscan settlement in this region: Galicia and Asturias were rather cut off from the rest of Castile, although communications were good along the famous pilgrim route to Santiago de Compostela. Many legends recounted the pilgrimage of St Francis to this shrine, and this may account for the relatively early appearance of such a large number of friaries in the areas around Santiago.[54] Another hypothesis is that the region

appears to have been less affected by the sixteenth century demographic expansion than the interior provinces and Andalusia.[55] In the mid-sixteenth century the town of Santiago had a population of only 1,076 vecinos, followed by La Coruña with 545 vecinos, and Lugo with only 114 vecinos.[56] If we accept Le Goff's hypothesis of a link between the demographic structure of a region and the construction of a friary, then it would appear that there was no adequate "demographic trigger" in sixteenth-century Galicia for Franciscan expansion. However, we must bear in mind that this north-west corner of Castile was fairly densely populated, despite the lack of large towns: Galicia had a population density of between fourteen and sixteen inhabitants per square kilometre; Asturias on the other hand only had between eight and nine per km^2.[57] The demographic profile of Galicia and Asturias, therefore, does not provide a convincing explanation of why there were so few friaries founded in the later period. After all, as we shall see, many of the fifteenth and sixteenth century foundations in Old and New Castile were located either in or near towns with populations equally as low as those in the north-west. Two further factors may have played a part: one was what may be termed the 'monastic saturation' of these particular regions, and the other was the lack of suitable patronage. The 'kingdom' of Galicia, because of its important pilgrimage centre and its consequent receptivity to northern European, particularly French, influence, was one of the first regions in

the Iberian Peninsula to be colonised by the Cluniacs and Cistercians. The 1591 census shows that these two monastic orders were concentrated almost exclusively in these regions, the most southerly Cistercian monastery being located in Cuenca.[58] The presence of these monasteries, therefore, may have been a factor in discouraging mendicant settlement, Franciscans included. What is also striking, however, is the apparent unwillingness of the Galician nobility to patronise the Franciscans. Despite the numerous noble 'clans' of the region, such as the Sotomayor, Zúñiga, and Osorio, none were significant patrons of the Franciscan Order.[59]

Were these nobles perhaps not wealthy enough? In any case the lack of noble patronage in Galicia is emphasised when we compare it to large scale endowments of friaries by titled nobility in adjoining regions. For example, three patrons of friaries established in the fifteenth century were members of a nobility whose power, wealth, and prestige, unlike that of the Galician nobility, was national rather than local: thus, García Alvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alba, founded a Franciscan house in Alba de Tormes in 1489; Rodrigo Alonso Pimentel, Count of Benavente, endowed another in Villalón in 1469; and Diego de Quiñones and Juana Enríquez, Counts of Luna, founded a house in Benavides in 1460.[60] These three friaries were built outside the town walls, a trend noted by Le Goff in fifteenth century Observant foundations in France.

In the partido of Burgos and Trasmiera, and in the lands of the Counts of Haro, a significant amount of Franciscan expansion occurred in the fifteenth century, when approximately fourteen friaries were established.[61] As has been mentioned, many of these foundations were set up through the patronage of the Velasco family and were situated in isolated spots in the countryside. The equation between urban centres and Franciscan friaries, therefore, played no part in Villascrecian 'rural Franciscanism', such as this, but noble support and patronage did constitute an important variable.

The partidos of Old Castile contained a large number of Franciscan houses, the most important of which were situated in the large urban centres of Valladolid, Salamanca and Segovia.[62] These regions were well-populated in the early sixteenth century with a density of fourteen to fifteen inhabitants per km^2 in the Salamanca area, and eighteen to twenty inhabitants per km^2 in the area around Valladolid.[63] The main period of Franciscan expansion in these regions coincided with the rise of the Villacrecian and Regular Observance reform movements. In particular, houses were built in the lands belonging to the Enríquez family, Admirals of Castile, and the Manrique de Lara, Adelantados of Castile.[64] The Enríquez were patrons of the Santoyo foundation of Valdescopezo, near Medina de Rioseco, and the female convent of Santa Clara in Palencia; in 1491 they also founded one male and one female house

in their town of Medina de Rioseco.[65] The Manrique de Lara were closely involved with the Santoyo foundations of Villasilos, Nuestra Señora de la Consolación de Calahorra, near Villasilos, and Paredes de Nava; they were, in addition, patrons of the female convents of Amusco and Calabazanos.[66]

These fifteenth-century titled families of Old Castile - the Velasco, Enríquez, and Manrique de Lara - were all inter-related through marriage.[67] Leonora de Castilla, for example, was the daughter of the Admiral's brother and the wife of the Adelantado, Pedro Manrique de Lara; Beatriz Manrique de Lara, the latter's sister, married Pedro Fernández de Velasco, Count of Haro; and María de Velasco, daughter of the Count of Haro, married Alfonso Enríquez, Admiral of Castile.[68] Marriage ties, therefore, not only cemented political alliances but considerably affected the 'religious preferences' of these three powerful families, and they passed on to future generations a common interest in founding and endowing Franciscan houses in the lands under their jurisdiction.[69]

The main phase of Franciscan expansion not only coincided with the emergence of Franciscan reform movements but also paralleled the rise of this new titled nobility in Trastamaran Castile.[70] These developments provided the catalyst for the establishment of a large number of foundations in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

All the large towns in this area had a friary which had been built in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but there was as yet no clustering of friaries around these urban centres. Noble patronage and the Observant preference for out-of-town sites were the decisive factors in determining the geography of Franciscanism in this area. This resulted in a proliferation of friaries constructed on the outskirts of small seigneurial towns, especially in the area around Palencia and Medina de Rioseco.[71]

In New Castile and La Mancha friaries were mainly concentrated in the area north of the Tagus; south of this line there were no towns of any note, and the land was under the jurisdiction of the military orders.[72] North of the Tagus, with the notable exception of Toledo, there were numerous small to middling towns under the jurisdiction of the nobility and the Archbishop of Toledo. The largest town by far was Toledo with approximately 5.898 vecinos in 1530, followed by Ciudad Real with 1.211, Ocaña with 1.124, and Talavera with 1.115 vecinos.[73] The pattern of Franciscan expansion closely followed that of Old Castile, and continued into the sixteenth century.[74] This expansion from the fifteenth century onwards was triggered off by the Observant and Villacrecian reform movements under the aegis of the titled nobility. Moreover, the appointment of an Observant, Cisneros, as Archbishop of Toledo, had a tremendous impact on the growth of Franciscanism in the area around Toledo and Guadalajara.

The most assiduous patrons of the Franciscan Order in New Castile were great political dynasties like the Mendoza and Pacheco, and also those whose influence was local rather than national, such as the Silva and the Cardeñas.[75] Each dynasty had its own 'Franciscan sphere of influence', which tended to correspond to the area around its casa solar. For example, the Mendoza gave financial support to the friaries in Guadalajara, La Salceda, and La Cabrera, and another branch of the family were patrons of the Franciscan house in Mondejar.[76] The Pacheco founded a male Franciscan house and a Conceptionist convent in their seigneurial town of Escalona. The patronage of the Silva included the Cifuentes and Escamilla friaries, and through María de Silva, Duchess of Medinaceli, the house in Medinaceli. The Téllez Girón family, blood relatives of the Pacheco, founded the Franciscan house in Pastrana in 1460, and that in Puebla de Montalván a century later. Other noble clans, such as the Fajardo, the Chacón, and Cardeñas, acted as patrons of the Franciscans in Ocaña, Colmenar, and Lominchar.[77] The lords of the dehesa of Castañar, Juan Ramírez de Guzmán and Juana Palomeque, founded and retained burial rights in the hermitage of El Castañar.[78] Gomez Carrillo, Lord of Pinto, financed the building of the Franciscan capilla mayor in his seigneurial town. There were in addition two houses founded by ecclesiastical dignitaries during this period: one was constructed in Talavera by Fr. Hernando de Talavera, the other in Tordelaguna by Cisneros.[79]

The location of these fifteenth- and sixteenth-century foundations followed a pattern similar to that in Old Castile. For example, La Cabrera, El Castañar, and La Salceda were essentially rural retreats where friars could follow a contemplative, ascetic lifestyle.[80]. This shift from urban to rural Franciscanism is illustrated by the fact that at least thirteen of the later foundations were built outside the town walls or a short distance away in the countryside.[81] Juridically, most of these towns where the friars settled were villas rather than ciudades, and their populations were not particularly high. For example, in 1530 Alcalá had a population of 1.200 vecinos, Mondejar, 1.000 vecinos, Talavera, 1.000 vecinos, and Oropesa, 300 vecinos.[82] Thus, the pattern of a network of friaries established on the outskirts of small seigneurial towns is evident in New Castile as well.

In Extremadura a large number of hermitages and rural friaries were constructed as the result of a local reform movement which was inspired by Spiritual and Villacrecian-type ideals.[83] This group of 'descalzos' was led by Fr Pedro de Alcántara and Fr Juan de la Puebla, who had been heir-apparent to the title of Count of Belalcazar.[84] The descalzos' austere and contemplative lifestyle had much in common with the earlier Villacrecian movement in Castile. Like the latter they sought to obtain jurisdictional privileges from the Papacy, and for a time they pursued a separatist policy. These Extremaduran houses were eventually

to form the 'discalced' provinces of San Miguel and Los Angeles, and it was from this area that a mission of twelve Franciscans was sent out to evangelise Mexico.[85]

Extremadura, including the partidos of Trujillo, Campo de Montiel, Provincia de León, and Orden de Santiago, contained few towns of any note, the largest being Badajoz with a population of approximately 2.000 vecinos in 1530. The density of poulation was also low, being between eight and nine inhabitants per km^2, although there were pockets of land which had a higher population density.[86] Extremadura was highly 'seigneurialised' but only a small percentage of the land was in the hands of the lay aristocracy, the bulk being under the jurisdiction of the military orders of Alcántara and Santiago. Although according to the 1550 census, lordships constituted 71.1% of the total area in this region, 67.7% of these seigneurial lands were under the jurisdiction of the military orders, and only 3.4% in the hands of lay lords.[87]

This pattern of landholding, the lack of towns, and the eremitical nature of the discalced reform movement combined to produce a larger number of rural Franciscan settlements than in other parts of the kingdom. Apart from these rural hermitages, a significant proportion of Extremaduran friaries were built in the countryside but within a short walking distance of the nearest town.[88]

As in other parts of Castile, the main period of expansion in this area occurred between c. 1474 and c. 1530.[89] The system of patronage was also similar to that noted in Old and New Castile, with the majority of foundations being financed by the local titled nobility. These included the Dukes of Alba, Bejar, and Albuquerque, the Counts of Feria and Deleitosa, and the Marquis of Villanueva del Fresno.[90]

The area which extended from Cuenca and the Alcarria down to Murcia in the south-west was even more underpopulated than the Extremaduran region: the density of population ranged from five to six inhabitants per km^2 in the Cuenca-Alcarria region to only three to four inhabitants per km^2 in the kingdom of Murcia. Murcia was the largest town with 2.595 vecinos in 1530, and Cuenca contained approximately 7.000 inhabitants.[91] Franciscan settlements in this region were originally restricted to towns on the boundaries of New Castile like Molina de Aragón, Alcocer, Cuenca, and Huete, although the earliest foundation was built in 1230 in Murcia.[92] In the fifteenth and, more particularly, the sixteenth century, the number of friaries in the Murcia region increased enormously under the influence of the Regular Observant movement. By 1520 there were sixteen friaries containing between 350 and 400 friars, and by 1591 the number of houses had more than doubled.[93] It would appear from the fragmentary evidence available that, given the low density of population and the relative

lack of towns, this region witnessed a high degree of Franciscan settlement.

In Andalusia the existence of the Granadan frontier until 1492 gave rise to particular social and political characteristics, and this in turn influenced the geography of Franciscan settlements. The need for military power on the frontier led to the creation of a more powerful aristocracy, as the Crown was forced to reward the nobility by giving it lands and fiscal and honorific privileges in eastern Andalusia.[94] Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries there had been a 'scissors movement' in the balance of landholding interests between the military orders and the lay nobility in favour of the latter.[95] The majority of Andalusian titles was created during the struggles between John II and the Infantes of Aragon, and included the Counts of Cabra and Belalcazar, the Marquis of Ayamonte, and the Duke of Medina Sidonia.[96] The reign of the Catholic Monarchs produced a similar rash of title-giving when, for example, the Marquises of Priego and Comares, and the Count of Palma received their new titles. Between the mid-fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries there was little change in the pattern of seigneurial jurisdictions: in 1530 lordships accounted for 49% of the land in Andalusia, with 66% of this total belonging to the titled nobility, 18% to the military orders, 8.1% to the untitled nobility, and 8.2% to ecclesiastical lords.[97] In sharp contrast, therefore, to the landholding

pattern in Extremadura, a preponderant number of lordships was under the jurisdiction of the lay aristocracy. However, unlike Extremadura, noble lands in this part of Andalusia were located in dispersed pockets of jurisdiction which forestalled the formation of large compact power blocks.[98]

The Andalusian partidos, excluding the kingdom of Granada, contained several large towns, but the area as a whole was not so densely populated as Galicia and Old Castile. Precise figures have not survived for the population of Seville, but the city contained some 40.000 inhabitants in the 1480s, and indeed was the largest city in the kingdom.[99] Other large towns in the region were Córdoba with 5.845 vecinos in 1530, Jaén and its termino had 4.795 vecinos in 1505, Antequera with 2.437 vecinos in 1530, Lucena with 2.000 vecinos, and Carmona with 8.000 inhabitants.[100] The population density in the partidos of Seville, Córdoba, and Jaén was only between eleven and thirteen inhabitants per km^2, with lordships being more densely populated than royal lands.[101]

How did this pattern of landholding and population settlement affect the spread of Franciscanism in the western part of Andalusia (Partido of Seville)?[102] Certain towns, for example, Seville, Córdoba, Osuna and Marchena, contained more than one Franciscan house either within their walls or within their termino: in the case of Seville and Córdoba, two out of their three friaries were hermitages

or recollects, and this represented a qualitatively different type of Franciscanism than that of the usual urban friary.[103] There appears to have been no direct correlation between the size of a town's population and the construction of a friary; for example, the Lucena friary was not built until the comparatively late date of 1558.[104] Friaries were built on the Seville-Carmona-Ecija axis, and were also dotted along the coastal strip between Jerez and Huelva. The majority of these houses, however, were not established until the sixteenth century, whereas the 'take off' period in Franciscan expansion in Old and New Castile had occurred in the fifteenth century.[105] This chronological lag suggests that patronage was less forthcoming in western Andalusia than in the north. Perhaps the titled nobility dispensed their patronage across a wide range of religious orders in towns like Seville and Córdoba which contained several types of mendicant orders?[106] There is evidence, however, that the Franciscan Order was the most popular order in Seville from the point of view of burial spots and endowments of chantries.[107]

This western area of Andalusia witnessed a Franciscan 'boom' in the sixteenth century: in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were approximately six friaries built; in the fifteenth century a further eleven houses were established; and in the period up to 1570 a further fourteen were built, with a peak being reached between 1525-50. This chronology of Franciscan settlement suggests that

western Andalusia was not noticeably affected by the Villacrecian and Regular Observant movements, but, like Extremadura and Murcia, Franciscanism spread south at a later date.[108] The peak decades of expansion, between 1525-50, suggest that the stimulus may have been provided by the spectacular growth in the New World trade, and the related drift of population from north to south. Certainly there is some evidence of links between individual friaries and the New World; for example, Columbus was reputed to have been a Franciscan tertiary, and he received encouragement for his proposed voyage from the Franciscans of La Rábida.[109] Further research may reveal more links between the Franciscans in this part of Andalusia and the carrera of the Indies. Friaries were built all along this coastline in the towns of Ayamonte, Moguer, Palos, Sanlucar de Barrameda, Puerto de Santa María, and Cádiz. With the exception of Sanlucar, the Franciscans were the only mendicants settled in these towns.

In central and eastern Andalusia,the Granadan frontier meant that a different set of factors came into play.[110] The existence of the Moorish kingdom of Granada up to 1492 tended to restrict Franciscan settlement to the royal towns of Córdoba, Jaén, Ubeda, and Baeza. As the Christians conquered the various Moorish cities in the 1480s, licences to found friaries were requested in their wake. Between 1489-1500 ten houses were built or were under construction in Málaga, Loja, Baza, Guadix, Almería, Granada(2), Vélez,

Zubia, and Alcaudete.[111] At least five of these friaries were built either extramuros or in the arrabal of the urban centre; the friary of Alcaudete developed from a former hermitage; the Zubia friary was built in the countryside, one league from Granada; and the Franciscan house in Vélez was constructed inside the city walls, with one of its gates leading into the main square. In Granada two friaries were built, one of which was constructed in the shadow of the Alhambra, thus making it a potent symbol of the spiritual conquest of Granada[112] - indeed, all four mendicant orders established houses in the key strategic towns of the former Muslim kingdom.[113] Many of these religious houses were begun in the 1490s, which suggests that mendicant settlement in eastern Andalusia was linked to the friars' functions as preachers, crusaders, and confessors. The boom period in Franciscan expansion coincided with the conquest of Granada. Nine more houses were built in the period 1507-66 in Priego, Bujalance, Linares, Alcalá la Real, Montilla, Lucena, Antequera, and Archidona, with the Andújar friary developing out of the former female tertiary house of Santa Ana. Two of these houses were built inside the walls of the town, and at least three - Linares, Alcalá la Real and Montilla - were built extramuros.[114]

Who were the patrons of the friars in this area of Andalusia during this period? Here again, there existed important differences between the south and the north of the kingdom.

As mentioned above, the main patrons of the Franciscan Order in Old and New Castile were the titled nobility. But this area lagged behind both western Andalusia and parts of Castile in the number of families admitted to the ranks of the titled nobility. The Granadan war, however, gave the Catholic Monarchs the opportunity to reward the regional nobility by admitting some of them to titular rank. Hence, in the early sixteenth century Ferdinand the Catholic gave tht title of Marquis to the two branches of the outstanding Cordoban clan when the heads of the houses of Aguilar and of Montemayor were created Marquis of Priego (1501) and Marquis of Comares (1516) respectively.[115]

The patronage of both branches of these Cordoban lineages was both extensive and impressive: they founded and endowed houses in Alcaudete, Priego, Montilla, and Lucena, and they also played a major part in financing female Franciscan convents.[116] The house of Aguilar seems to have been particularly devoted to the Franciscan order, especially the female members of the lineage. Two sisters and two daughters of the first Marquis, for example, became Franciscan nuns, while another daughter founded a Franciscan convent in Aguilar.[117] The Franciscan sympathies of this particular titled family, indeed, seem to have assumed an almost hereditary nature. The Aguilar family established links through marriage with the northern titled families of Pacheco and Enríquez, both of whom, as has been noted,

were important patrons of the Franciscans in Old and New Castile.[118] Alonso de Aguilar, a key figure in the Granada campaign, married Catalina Pacheco, sister of the Marquis of Villena, in 1474. In her will, dated 1503, she left 1.250.000 mrs for the construction of either a male or female Franciscan house in either Priego or Montilla.[119] In response to his mother's wishes, the first Marquis of Priego began building a male house in Montilla, and he himself financed the friary in Priego.[120] The towns where the Franciscans settled in the Marquisate of Priego were of middling size - Priego had 1.207 vecinos, Aguilar, 1.105 vecinos, and Montilla 1.166 vecinos - but the area in general was well-populated with a density of 22.5 inhabitants per km^2.[121] Yet since these friaries were built at a time of famine, epidemics, and relative demographic stagnation, it would seem that, in the relationship between population, patronage, and Franciscan settlement, demographic factors did not necessarily 'trigger' mendicant foundations, although at a later stage demographic growth certainly provided a safety net for the continued survival of friaries by supplying the friars with a pastoral audience and a source of alms.[122] In the first stage of the process, the role of the patron or patrons would appear to be the crucial factor.

The Montemayor family demonstrated its attachment to Franciscanism through the building of the Alcaudete friary by Alonso Fernández de Córdoba and María de Velasco,

Countess of Siruela, and the Lucena house by Luis Fernández de Córdoba, Marquis of Comares.[123] The only other noble foundation in this area was financed by Enrique Enríquez, mayordomo mayor and uncle of Ferdinand the Catholic, and María de Luna in Baza.[124] In this instance, therefore, Franciscanism penetrated eastern Andalusia through northern Castilian patronage.

The most striking feature, however, of the endowment of friaries in the kingdom of Granada was the predominant role played by the Catholic Monarchs. Eight out of the ten houses established between 1489-1500 received financial backing from the Crown, and this patronage was on a far larger scale than in other parts of Castile.[125] Royal 'monopoly' of Franciscan patronage, therefore, may have been a way of strengthening royal authority in this part of Andalusia: the reconquered towns were not apportioned to the Andalusian nobility, but were placed under royal jurisdiction.

The expansion of Franciscanism in Andalusia occurred at a later date than that in the north and was influenced by the conquest of Granada and possibly by the growth in the New World trade. Friaries were built along the coastal strip south of Seville, and the peak decades in the number of houses founded paralleled the rise of Seville as the major trading centre of the peninsula. In the kingdom of Granada, Franciscanism was brought south by the Catholic

Monarchs, and the geography of Franciscan royal foundations hints at an underlying spiritual-cum-political motive on the part of Isabella and Ferdinand. Friaries, after all, served as symbolic bulwarks against Islam and as fortresses of the Catholic faith. The close alliance between Franciscans and the monarchy's anti-Islamic policy is illustrated by the important part played by Cisneros and Fr Francisco Ruiz in the conquest of Oran.[126] Further evidence of Franciscan activity in North Africa is contained in a letter, written in Seville in 1511, from Ferdinand to the Franciscan poet and courtier, Fr Ambrosio de Montesino, in which reference is made to the latter's campaign to recruit preachers and confessors for North Africa.[127]

Titled families, with the notable exception of the example of Córdoba, were not so closely involved in financing friaries in Andalusia, and such patronage of the Order that did exist seems to have been 'imported' from the north via marriage alliances with Castilian families like the Pacheco, Enríquez and Luna. In eastern Andalusia Franciscanism assumed a different form from that in the north, spreading under the impetus of the monarchy rather than that of the nobility. Yet despite these differences, the Franciscans rapidly became the most important religious order in Andalusia, both in terms of numbers and popular appeal. The Seville friary was the most popular 'burial centre' in the second half of the fifteenth century, and

the Franciscan habit was most in demand as a burial shroud. By 1591 male Franciscan houses accounted for 31% of the total number of male houses, followed a long way behind in second place by the Dominicans with 14.5%.[128] In addition, the Franciscan influence was much more extensive in terms of geography as, unlike the Dominicans, they did not restrict themselves to large urban centres, but also settled in small towns and in the countryside of Andalusia.[129]

Noble-Franciscan Rapprochement

In contrast with Franciscan patronage in Northern Italy, the friars in Castile did not draw their main support from merchants and businessmen but from the ranks of the great nobility. A not inconsiderable number of the former, of course, may have been of Jewish extraction, and the paucity of references to donations made to the Franciscans may suggest that the Jews and conversos had little sympathy for the Franciscan Order.[130] After all, the Franciscans, and other mendicants, had been active in stirring up social unrest against the Jews and conversos which culminated in the Franciscan request to Henry IV for the establishment of an Inquisition.[131] Yet the structure of Castilian society also differed markedly from that of Northern Italy, with the great nobility remaining the most powerful and prestigious social group.

At first sight the rapprochement between the Franciscan Order and the nobility appears to be a paradoxical alliance between poverty and power and privilege. How was it possible for a religious order dedicated to poverty to align itself with the most privileged social group in Castile? And why did the great nobility become the major benefactors of an Order which rejected wealth and wordly status?

The emergence of the Regular Observance and other reform movements placed the friars in a precarious economic position, and the disappearance of their annual rents and other regular sources of income made them more dependant on great noble families.[132] Apart from material benefits, the great nobility could offer protection to friars in the towns in the face of competition from the secular clergy and other religious orders; in rural settlements where friars may have been more vulnerable to physical attack, the great lord could also play a protective role. Therefore, at the most basic level, the Observants and other reformed Franciscans had to circumvent the practical problems of obtaining food, clothing, and shelter by winning and retaining the support of the most privileged groups in Castile. This support was gained in different ways and for different reasons, but the most important factor, and indeed the most paradoxical, seems to have been what may be termed the 'ideology' of Franciscanism.

This ideology, which stressed humility of spirit and poverty in material goods, could not have been further removed from the values of the Castilian nobility. Indeed, a recent article goes further than this and suggests that the 'oppositional nature' of reformed Franciscanism represented a 'radical critique' of Spanish society as a whole.[133] Yet the Franciscan ideals of poverty and humility were more specifically opposed to the traditional values of the great nobility rather than to those of the average artisan or peasant. A reconciliation was perhaps made possible between these two apparently antithetical value-systems because the one did not really fundamentally challenge the other: the nobles' patronage of the Franciscan Order assuaged their feelings of guilt and their fears for their personal salvation; the Franciscans, on the whole, did not challenge the right of the nobility to wealth and status, and indeed by permitting them to invest in an Order which rejected both, they seemed, by a curious dialectic, to reinforce and offer a justification for noble privilege.[134]

Noble patronage of the Franciscan Order was both extensive and impressive. The fact that the majority of new foundations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were Observant rather than Conventual meant that patrons could not always donate annual rents, such as censos, tributos, and juros.[135] What form then did noble patronage take during this period? The most usual pattern of patronage

was to finance the conventual buildings, to provide the friars with food and clothing, and to establish chantries. Patrons who were particularly devoted to the Order provided extra services and received potentially greater spiritual benefits from their 'clients'; these extras could include the donation of books and manuscripts, or paying the expenses of chapter meetings.

Some patrons financed the building of sumptuous friaries and furnished them with tapestries, fine paintings, and wall-hangings, as well as donating silver chalices and crucifixes to the conventual church. Papal licences, granting patrons the right to found a friary, stated which communal rooms and gardens the patron should provide for the friars' use, but did not specify what kind of building materials should be used. For example, the Marquis of Villena was given permission to build in Escalona,

> '... unam domum in dicto oppido, loco ad id convenienti et honesto, pro usu et habitatione praedictis, cum Ecclesia, humili campanili, campana, claustro, refectorio, dormitorio, hortis, hortalitiis et aliis necessariis officinis construendi et aedificandi...'136

Thus apart from providing these basic buildings, the patron was given considerable leeway in the building and furnishing of the friary. However, the type of Franciscan regime followed in a particular house seems to have limited the

patron's choice of building materials and furnishings. In the Villacrecian houses in the lordships of the Count of Haro only the poorest materials were used, and furnishings were kept to an absolute minimum.[137] Therefore, in certain cases, especially among the more austere reform groups, the friars could place restrictions on the generosity of their patron. Many friaries, however, provided an outlet for the spiritual and cultural impulses of the Castilian nobility in the form of burial tombs, decorative cloisters, and libraries. The convent of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, with its Plateresque cloisters and Mudejar-style ceiling, is one of the most famous examples of royal patronage of a Franciscan Observant house.[138] Less well known is the friary built in Torrijos by Gutierre de Cardenas and Teresa Enríquez.[139] The couple, who built several female convents in this area of Castile, donated many gifts and ornaments to the Torrijos house. The friary, which later became the family pantheon of their descendants, the Dukes of Maqueda, was described by Wadding in the following way:

> 'Jus patronatus hujus remansit apud Duces Maquedae, fundatorum haeredes, quibus humandis deservit summum sacellum elegantissimis et sumtuosissimis mausoleis vere magnificium. In medio nobiles hi jacent fundatores, sepulcro alabastrite ac jaspideo, quod a terra elevant leones duodecim marmorei...'.140

Within the Franciscan Order, therefore, there were enormous variations in the amount of money spent by the patron in the building and decorating of a friary.

Although some historians have argued that reform of the Franciscan Order led to anti-intellectualism, royal and noble patronage of Franciscan libraries during this period provides some counterbalancing evidence.[141] For example, when the Toledan Franciscans moved from their old friary to San Juan de los Reyes, they brought their library of books with them.[142] In 1501 the Catholic Monarchs donated 10.000 mrs to the Guardian of San Francisco in Seville to help build a library;[143] using the value of the books belonging to the first Marquis of Priego, inventoried in 1518, as a point of comparison, 39.9% of his books were worth less than 100 mrs, and 50% were valued between 100 and 500 mrs.[144] Indeed, bearing in mind the difference in dates, an approximately similar pattern of expenditure would point to a potential library of some one hundred books. In Guadalajara, Iñigo López de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana, provided a library for the local friary; so too did Francisco Alvarez de Toledo, Count of Oropesa, for the Franciscan house he had built in 1519 in his town of Oropesa.[145] Noble account-books and wills contain further evidence of their patronage of Franciscan book-learning: in 1499, Rodrigo Pimentel, Duke of Benavente, donated 3.000 mrs to the Franciscan guardian of Benavente

'in order to buy parchment to make books for the said monastery...';146

and, in 1502, Doña Elvira de Herrera, sister of the first Marquis of Priego, left the following clause in her will:

'... I leave 50,000 mrs to the monastery of San Francisco of the said city of Córdoba for a library or for whatever any other work may appear best to the said Provincial Minister...'.147

Apart from providing buildings, furniture, and books, patrons also contributed to the friars' material well-being and to the costs of their chapter meetings. The account books of Gonzalo de Baeza, treasurer of the Catholic Monarchs, illustrate the nature and extent of the donations made to the Franciscans: in 1486, for example, the Alcalá Franciscans were given 3.000 mrs for food, and the friars of La Aguilera were sent 50 reals for blankets; the guardian of Medina del Campo was given 2.000 mrs in 1494 to buy meat for Easter; between 1499-1501 the Franciscans were given 40.000 mrs towards the expenses of the chapter meetings held in Almazán, Carrión, and Valladolid; and in 1502, the Monarchs sent 15.000 mrs to the guardian of Avila towards the expenses of the General Chapter.[148] The nobility also offered to pay chapter expenses: in 1493, the Marquis of Villena agreed to pay for both provincial chapters of the Franciscan province of Castile, and any General Chapters held there, provided that they were

convened in his villa of Escalona;[149] Salamanca was the location chosen by the Dukes of Benavente, who funded the chapter meetings of the province of Santiago.[150]

This offer to pay chapter expenses should be seen as part of a mutual benefit scheme by means of which, in return for financial aid, the friars pledged themselves to acquire spiritual benefits for their benefactors. Frequently this 'contract' between patron and friary was codified in a document known as a 'letter of confraternity' in which the friars outlined the liturgical services the patron would receive in the form of masses, fasts, and prayers as an aid to his or her eternal salvation.[151] This exchange of material aid in this world for spiritual aid in the next is emphasised in a letter of confraternity issued to the Catholic Monarchs in 1470;

> 'Pius vestre deuotionis affectus, quem ad ordinem nostrum geritis, exigentia digna requirit vt quia in temporalibus non possumus vicem vestre caritati rependere, in spiritulibus tamen quantum nobis suppetit et prout in nostris apud Deum seruamus (sic) desideriis vobis compensare debeamus; propter quod vos ad confraternitatem nostram et ad vuiversa et singula fratrum nostrorum ac sororum sufragia recipio in vita pariter et in morte, plenam vobis ac specialem participationem omnium carismatum et spiritualium donorum, videlicet, misarum, orationum, diuinorum officiorum, deuotionum, sufragiorum, predicationum, lectionum, ieiuniorum, disciplinarum, uigiliarum, laborum ceterorumque bonorum, tenore presentium, gratiose conferendo...'.[152]

The spiritual benefits outlined in a letter of confraternity in return for the payment of chapter expenses were sometimes extended to include the descendants of the original patron, although as we shall see in this extract addressed to Alonso Alfonso Pimentel, the Duke of Benavente, in 1529, the friars did not rule out the possibility of these privileges being transferred to another lord:

> '...We wish and order that each and every time that the said illustrious Lord Count, or his successors, should wish in charity to bear the cost and expenditure of the provincial chapter meetings of this province of Santiago, the friars who assemble there should obediently say the masses and other prayers for the intentions of his lordship, and should perform the solemn funeral rites for the dead during the provincial chapter. This provincial chapter is to be held in this convent of St Francis for ever more, unless his lordship, or his successors, should at some time wish to transfer it to the houses in his own lands, or unless some other lord should for some good and pious reason request that the chapter be held in his lands, in which case the Provincial Minister can allow the request with the advice of his councillors.'153

The privileges accorded to patrons in letters of confraternity varied in degree: in the letter quoted above, issued to the Catholic Monarchs, they were promised a wide range of benefits conferred through divine offices, prayers, fasts, discipline, and vigils; in others the names of the patrons were given a special mention at chapter meetings, or, if deceased, masses for the dead would be said on their behalf. More exceptionally, patrons were given

the privilege of being buried in a Franciscan habit. The first Marquis of Priego had evidently received this mark of exceptional favour, as his will stated that his body should be wrapped in the habit and girdle of St Francis and should be buried in the friary he was building in Montilla.[154] Some nobles acquired letters of confraternity from several religious orders, presumably as a way of piling up guarantees for their future salvation. This practice of saving up spiritual benefits is remarkably similar to the late medieval obsession with buying indulgences. Were these letters of confraternity, then, the mendicant orders' attempt to break into the lucrative market of indulgence-selling?

The establishment of chantries in friaries was another method of dispensing patronage, a practice from which the patrons' motives can be easily adduced.[155] Noble wills frequently stipulated the number and type of masses to be said for themselves and the souls of their ancestors. These chantries served an analogous function to cartas de hermandad insofar as both were concerned with the salvation of the soul. In the will of Elvira de Herrera, which has been referred to above, the number of masses and the amount to be paid to the friars were clearly specified:

> '... and I order that they should say one thousand masses - three hundred requiem masses, and three hundred masses of Our Lady, and two hundred masses of the Cross. These masses

> are for the soul of the said lord don Alfonso Fernández de Córdoba, may God rest his soul, and for my soul, and they are to be performed in the monasteries of the friars of the Order of Saint Francis in Andalusia as the reverend Provincial Minister should order, and half a real is to be given them for each mass'.[156]

This particular noblewoman left a total of 10.000 mrs and 500 reals for 1.600 masses to the Franciscan friars, and 500 reals for 1000 masses to the Jeronymites in Guadalupe; a clear preference was thus expressed for the Order of Friars Minor.[157] In Isabel the Catholic's will 34.000 mrs were left to the friars of the Province of Santoyo for 2.000 masses; and a further 174.900 mrs were given to the Franciscan provinces and custodies as a whole for 9.700 masses.[158] Even in the Villacrecian custody of Santa María de los Menores this practice of saying masses for the patron's soul was adhered to, although no reference was made to any financial payment being made.[159] In his will Fr Lope de Salazar y Salinas ordered that a mass be said every monday throughout the year for the Count and Countess of Haro.[160] In Seville and Cáceres, as has been mentioned before, Franciscan friaries were the most popularly requested burial places, and, one infers, where presumably most chantries were established.[161] More detailed examination of noble, and perhaps other wills, may reveal that in fact the Franciscan Order almost monopolised the market for masses for the dead during this period.

The Franciscan Order was by no means the only religious order patronised by the monarchy and nobility during this period, but given the rapid expansion in the number of friaries in seigneurial lands and, under royal sponsorship, in the kingdom of Granada, there is a strong case to be made for the predominance of Franciscan patronage in royal circles and among large sectors of the nobility. The motives of patrons in founding and endowing friaries were undoubtedly complex and mixed, but nevertheless a distinct pattern does emerge. Let us try and disentangle these motives and summarise our findings.

The relationship between patron and friary constituted a type of contract, but a very special one insofar as the friars were involved in negotiating their patron's 'purchase of paradise', no less, in exchange for their receiving temporal material benefits.[162] Foundation documents frequently included clauses which stipulated the special privileges to be held by patrons: for example, the right to bequeath the patronato of the conventual church to descendants, and the right to build a family pantheon. Noble wills stipulated the number of requiem masses to be said, and the amount of wax to be burned, for the repose of the souls of patrons and their ancestors; letters of confraternity were issued to benefactors outlining the spiritual benefits they would receive, and sometimes granting them the privilege of being buried in a Franciscan habit. All these aspects reflect a quantitative approach to salvation,

further proof of which is seen in patrons' wills where the number and type of masses and prayers are minutely catalogued. But this type of patronage also reflects the social and political aspirations, and the dynastic vanity of the great Castilian noble families. Those families which had gained most from the accession of the Trastamaran dynasty consolidated their lineage power by investing in convents or friaries.[163] Here, the lineages established chantries and buried their dead, thus paradoxically investing in poverty and humility in order to 'buy' salvation, while at the same time immortalising the honour and glory of their dynasties.

Recently it has been argued that noble patronage of religious houses was used as a means of extending and consolidating jurisdictional rights and privileges in seigneurial lands.[164] Fremaux-Crouzet has argued that Villacrecian or rural Franciscanism was:

> 'étroitement imbriqué dans le processus de seigneurialisation qui s' accentua avec la Maison de Trastamare...et au cours duquel la puissance économique et politique de la Haute noblesse se vit renforcée de pouvoirs juridictionnels'.[165]

In the lordship of the Count of Haro, Villacrecian houses espoused anti-hierarchical and egalitarian ideals and practised a form of agrarian collectivism. These ideals and practices, she argues, were the antithesis of those

of their patrons, yet, paradoxically, they both supported and justified their patrons' hierarchical and privileged place in society. Hence, rural Franciscanism did not act as a revolutionary or radical force in this area of Castile but rather sanctioned the status quo.[166]

Before this model can be applied to other areas of Castile, and to other types of Franciscanism, more detailed information is needed about how much real control noble patrons retained over their foundations.[167] It would be misleading and erroneous to present the Franciscans as helpless puppets exploited and manoeuvred by their noble patrons. After all, the friars were popular among all ranks of society and could also act as a potentially subversive force. One only has to think of the active role played by mendicant friars in stirring up social unrest at the time of the comunidades.[168] One would also have to know a great deal more about the economic organisation of rural Franciscan communities, and the extent to which they relied on seigneurial cloth and food production. However, several observations can be made about the links between the geography of Franciscan foundations and noble patrons, and the reasons why the nobility became the major patrons of the friars.

Firstly, a significant number of fifteenth-and sixteenth-century foundations in lordships were built outside the town walls or at a few leagues' distance in the countryside.[169]

This physical distance between the town and friary probably had little impact on the friars' urban programme but gave them the opportunity of extending their mission to the countryside. Evidence of a two-way channel of communication between the town and suburban or rural friary can be found in the Inquisition records relating to the area around Toledo. For example, in Escalona, the local inhabitants attended daily sermons at the Franciscan church outside the town walls; and witnesses in Pastrana recalled conversations they had with friars from the Franciscan recollect of La Salceda.[170] In other parts of New Castile, where vacant benefices proved difficult to fill, the Franciscans were given special licences to preach in isolated villages and hamlets.[171] Did this geographical shift from inside to outside the walls, and the consequent extension of the friars' pastoral mission to the countryside, coincide with the extension of the urban hinterland and seigneurial jurisdiction? A satisfactory answer to this question can only be found through more detailed case studies of individual lordships.

Secondly, there seems to be a political dimension to noble patronage of the Franciscan Order during this period. Although certain noble families were involved in encouraging Franciscan settlements in the early fifteenth century, the main expansionist period did not occur until the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, and continued throughout the sixteenth century. Why should this have

been the case? The internal reform of the order and the emergence of the Regular Observance as the dominant reform group were obviously important factors. Also, peace and stability from the 1480s onwards may have encouraged the nobility to divert their energies towards spiritual and charitable projects. However, most important in this context was Isabel the Catholic's championing of the Observant cause and her appointment of Cisneros as Archbishop of Toledo. The official seal of approval was thus given to reformed Franciscanism, which was then given further endorsement by the nobility; noble sponsorship of recollect and discalced Franciscanism in certain regions of Castile illustrates the extent to which reformed Franciscanism had become the accepted norm. Even the appointment of Cisneros as Regent of Spain for two short periods in the early sixteenth century, which aroused a certain amount of aristocratic hostility, failed to reverse this pattern of patronage.[172]

Finally, as has been seen, a possibly fruitful line of enquiry into why the nobility showed a clear preference for the Franciscan Order is the analysis of the ways and means by which Franciscans catered for the religious or pietistic tastes of their patrons. The most obvious factor in promoting the friars' popularity was linked to the afterlife: the establishment of chantries, and the recitation of numerous masses and prayers, reflected the spiritual insecurity of the great nobility, and revealed an evident

doubt as to whether their worldly wealth and power would guarantee them eternal salvation. But to what extent do other 'Franciscan' themes, such as devotion to the humanity and suffering of Christ and the cult of the Immaculate Conception, mirror the spiritual preferences of the nobility? Certainly the nobility of New Castile were the main patrons of the new order of the Immaculate Conception in the first decades of the sixteenth century.[173] A careful perusal of noble wills, libraries and paintings would help construct a hierarchy of spiritual or pietistic preferences, and would perhaps confirm the extent of Franciscan influences on noble spirituality.[174] Whatever the nature of the appeal of Franciscanism to the nobility of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Castile, there is no doubt as to the extent to which they gave the friars their support. Some nobles were so motivated by genuine piety that they renounced any claim to their title and mayorazgo and joined the Order of Friars Minor: one such was Fr Juan de la Puebla de Sotomayor, one of the leaders of the discalced movement in Extremadura, who renounced his title of Count of Belalcazar;[175] another was Fr Francisco de los Angeles Quiñones, General of the Franciscan Order in the 1520s, who was one of the heirs of the Counts of Luna.[176]

A favourable configuration of factors - social, political, and spiritual - thus conditioned the nature of noble patronage of the Franciscans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The new noble lineages of the Trastamaran period

were to be the main benefactors of the Order, and, under Isabel the Catholic, this trend of noble patronage was further strengthened by her selection of an Observant Franciscan as Primate of Spain. A certain symbiosis, the detailed social and economic implications of which remain to be explored, emerged between the political and spiritual preferences of the nobility and the Franciscan ideals of poverty and mendicancy. The Castilian nobility may have financed the construction of friaries within their lordships for reasons of prestige and dynastic vanity, yet they were undoubtedly motivated by a genuine piety as well - a piety of 'fear' and of 'opposing attractions', in which the great and the wealthy could embrace 'poverty' in order to help them face the last, and most important, rite of passage.

CHAPTER 2

THE MENTALITÉ OF CASTILIAN FRANCISCANISM: SPIRITUALITY AND HERESY, c.1440-1550

Introduction

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Order of Friars Minor built friaries in the towns and countryside of Castile, into which they set about introducing a reformed, Observantine, regime. There did exist, however, subtle, but important, variations in the lifestyle and spirituality of these reformed Franciscans. Friars in the towns were in constant contact with the local population, and therefore it is not surprising that rural friaries and hermitages should have placed more emphasis on a life dedicated to prayer and spiritual exercises. Reformed Franciscanism therefore encompassed a broad spectrum of lifestyles and spiritual preferences. Moreover, the geographical mobility of individual friars, and the fact that they could transfer from a large urban friary to one in a small seigneurial town,or to a hermitage, ensured that they were exposed to a variety of spiritual regimes. Observantine or reformed Franciscan spirituality represented a fusion of these disparate elements and can be viewed from two complementary perspectives:

from Observantine spirituality as a whole, and from the individual spiritual currents which constantly nourished this whole.[2]

Reformed Franciscan spirituality in late mediaval Castile possessed certain distinctive characteristics. Firstly, the Observants espoused an antipathy to academic study and rejected specific scholastic methods.[3] This anti-intellectualism had first been promoted by St.Francis and had gained a new prominence with the expansion of the Villacrecian and Regular Observance movements. By the early sixteenth century, there were clear indications that this anti-intellectualism had become widespread in Castile. For example, the college of St.Peter and St.Paul in Alcalá de Henares, established by Cardinal Cisneros, himself an Observant Franciscan, found it difficult to fill the vacancies made available to Franciscans from all over Castile. Between 1508 and 1525 the province of Andalusia sent only one student to Alcalá, and the province of Santiago failed to send any until 1528.[4] Franciscan education, therefore, tended to remain confined to the estudios generales attached to specific friaries, and under the jurisdiction of the local Provincial. This did not necessarily imply that standards of instruction were inferior to those in Alcalá, but that they were dependant

on the expertise of local friar-instructors. Able and dedicated instructors could be found at provincial level, but in the long term the lack of recruits, and consequently the lack of a college-trained teaching staff, led to a decline in educational standards and in Franciscan influence in academic circles. By 1520 the Franciscans were relinquishing university chairs and withdrawing from the universities.[5] Three years later, at the General Chapter held in Burgos, friars were reminded of the Order's prohibition against the holding of academic titles and degrees.[6] Reformed Franciscanism had thus firmly turned its back on the traditional seats of learning.

One facet of this process was the Franciscans' rejection of certain schools of scholasticism, in particular the Thomist-Aristotelian method favoured by the Dominican order.[7] Scholasticism was not rejected as a whole, as the Franciscan Order followed its own brands of scholastic method, inspired by theologians such as William of Ockham and Duns Scotus. In general terms, the Franciscans adhered to the view that rationalism and academic study had no part to play in communicating with God and in gaining salvation.[8] The only necessary accoutrements to attain these ends were faith and experience of God. The Franciscans thus followed

the affective rather than the rational tendency in theology, and this in turn made the Franciscan 'way' more 'democratic' in its scope. Knowledge of God could be experienced affectively by all and was not the exclusive preserve of theologians and churchmen. In the period under discussion, this particular aspect of Franciscan spirituality proved to be extremely attractive to lay people and produced a certain amount of spiritual experimentation and innovation among the friars and their audiences.[9] This 'open access' policy, however, would leave the Franciscans open to charges of encouraging religious dissent and heresy among the laity. Spheres of spiritual influence were particularly jealously guarded at this time as lay people were becoming increasingly literate, and were beginning to read spiritual works for themselves and challenge the assumptions of their priests and confessors.

Another distinctive characteristic of Franciscan spirituality was its Mariological bias, which in the Later Middle Ages coalesced around the cult of the Immaculate Conception.[10] Much work still remains to be done on the meaning and significance of this particular cult, but sufficient evidence has survived to suggest that it was the object of special devotion among the reformed Franciscans and the laity. The feast of the Immaculate

Conception, for example, was celebrated in the towns of Huesca and Madrid in the early decades of the fifteenth century, and the Constable of Castile became one of the first to take a vow to defend the cult.[11] A new Order of the Immaculate Conception was placed under the jurisdiction of the Observant Franciscans in 1511, and became one of the fastest growing religious orders in Castile.[12] Cardinal Cisneros established confraternities in Toledo and Alcalá in the early sixteenth century dedicated to the mystery of the Immaculate Conception.[13] Not only did the cult lead to the formation of a new religious Order and lay institutions but it also sparked off a major dispute between Dominicans and Franciscans in Valladolid in 1502.[14] Although these pieces of evidence merely provide a skeleton framework for the examination of this cult, they do indicate that the mystery of the Immaculate Conception was a controversial subject in early sixteenth-century Castile.

Missionary zeal directed against the Moors, and later against the Amerindians in the New World, and hostility towards Jews and conversos, were two further characteristics of reformed Franciscanism.[15] The characteristic links up to an earlier martyr-orientated phase in Franciscan history, but by the late fifteenth century Franciscan proselytising had also taken on board a more ac-

tive, political role. In the newly reconquered kingdom of Granada, Franciscan and other mendicant houses were established in all the major towns, and friars were drafted in to preach to and convert the local populace.[16] In this landscape mendicant friaries stood as potent symbols of the political and spiritual conquest of the Infidel by the Catholic Monarchs. In the early sixteenth century, Franciscans such as Cisneros, Fr.Francisco Ruiz and Fr.Montesinos played a prominent role in Ferdinand the Catholic's North African campaign.[17] In the 1520s new targets were found for the Franciscans' missionary activities, and twelve friars from the province of Los Angeles were dispatched to convert the inhabitants of Mexico. The choice of twelve friars was significant as it conciously echoed Christ's selection of twelve disciples, and it infused the Mexico mission with a certain messianic urgency.[18] This messianism led the Franciscans to develop a particular type of approach to the problem of conversion. In contrast to the Dominicans, and later the Jesuits, who both favoured a 'gradualist' approach to conversion, the Franciscans were much more confrontational.[19]

The second characteristic, that of antipathy towards the Jews and conversos, became particularly marked in the middle decades of the fifteenth century.[20] The

Franciscan Order attracted recruits from converso and Old Christian backgrounds, but it would be erroneous to equate a converso background with a tolerant attitude towards Jews and other conversos, in the same way as it would be to assume anti-semitism on the part of Old Christians. A wide spectrum of opinion, ranging from toleration to hostility, must have existed within the Order, as it did in Castilian society as a whole. In the second half of the fifteenth century, however, official attitudes towards Jews and conversos underwent a radical shift, culminating in the establishment of the Inquisition and the expulsion of the Jews.[21] The fact that Franciscan attitudes underwent a parallel change is unremarkable, but the pioneering role played by the friars in stirring up anti-semitic hostility is significant. The leader of this anti-semitic campaign was the Franciscan converso, Fr.Alonso de Espina, whose writings and career will be examined in more detail below. Espina's prominence as one of the main ideologues of anti-semitism has led to a tendency to magnify and distort the Franciscan contribution to anti-semitism as a whole. Undoubtedly, tolerant attitudes continued to survive within the Order but by the early sixteenth century these were probably minority views. The official prohibition of 1525 against conversos entering the Order, and restricting the promotion

prospects of existing converso friars, confirms the extent to which an anti-semitic standpoint had gained the ascendancy.[22]

Neither the Franciscan confrontational approach to conversion nor their anti-semitic campaign were natural by-products of reformed Franciscanism but to a large extent reflected changing social and cultural attitudes in Castile. The friars, because of their reliance on alms and donations and their pastoral functions, were placed in a complex relationship with their audience. To state that the friars, for reasons of self-interest, reflected the social and cultural prejudices of their audience would be simplistic; nor would it be true to say that they created these attitudes. Through the simple process of interaction the friars in their sermons and writings became the mouthpieces of contemporary political and social discontent.

The pastoral and penitential role of the Franciscans not only conditioned their spirituality but also led them into direct conflict with the secular clergy and other mendicant orders. This conflict in turn influenced, not the content of Franciscan spirituality as such, but the way in which this spirituality was perceived and interpreted by rival interest groups. The

autonomous organisation of the Order, coupled with its 'care of souls' function, meant that there was a certain inbuilt structural tension between the friars and the secular clergy. Furthermore, the evident success of the Franciscans in attracting patrons and benefactors provoked rivalry with the other mendicant orders.[23] Conflicts were to some extent predictable where Franciscans were considered to be infringing the pastoral rights and privileges of the local clergy. Attempts were made to avoid these jurisdictional wrangles by obliging the friars to seek a licence from the local bishop. However, conflict between Franciscans and the seculars or other mendicants was a frequent occurrence, and this conflict was often transformed into a 'smear campaign' against the religious orthodoxy of the Franciscans. For example, in the early sixteenth century, the Dominicans used this device to attack the Franciscans' espousal of the cult of the Immaculate Conception; similarly, in the fifteenth century, the laity's preference for the Franciscans as confessors rather than their parish priests was interpreted by the secular clergy as an example of the Franciscans preaching heresy.[24] Jurisdictional tussles, therefore, were transmuted into heresy accusations. The scope for this process was considerably widened in the late fifteenth century with the establishment of local tribunals of the Holy Office.

These tribunals were not invariably staffed by personnel who were hostile to the Order; on the contrary there were Franciscans and Franciscan sympathisers in the Suprema and at the local level. However, the possibility ted of anti-Franciscan sentiment affecting some inquisitors and theologians, and indeed between 1525 and 1534 Franciscan immunity from Inquisitorial investigation was lifted by the Papacy, thus making the friars vulnerable to potentially hostile groups.[25]

This introductory survey of the main characteristics of reformed Franciscanism illustrates that, as a phenomenon, it was both complex and contradictory. Franciscan spirituality and mentalité did not remain fixed and immutable but was altered and transformed by the general changes and developments which took place in Castilian society. Although an examination of all aspects of this spirituality during this period is obviously beyond the scope of this chapter, two themes can be considered representative of the developments which took place in Franciscan ideology as a whole. These two themes are the relationship between spirituality and heretical movements, using the examples of the Duranguesado and the phenomenon of alumbradismo, and the writings of Alonso de Espina and the development of Franciscan anti-semitism.

The Duranguesado[26]

Reformed Franciscanism, with its emphasis on absolute poverty, asceticism, and millenarianism, was not infrequently associated with medieval heretical sects. However, it was not these characteristics as such which led to heresy charges being made against the friars, but their combination with the Franciscans' involvement in certain forms of lay religious organisations, such as tertiary houses and beguinages.[27]

The episode of the Duranguesado, which is traditionally considered to have been the only serious outbreak of heresy among the Old Christians of mid-fifteenth century Castile, contains many of the classic ingredients of a heresy hunt. The surviving evidence of this heresy in the Basque region of Durango is fragmentary, and much of it is based on information received at second hand. Historians have attempted to fit the Durango heretics into the general framework of other late medieval heretical movements, and a broad consensus has been reached which regards them as an amalgamation of Joachimists, Fraticelli and Free Spirit adepts.[28] However, this consensus is derived from a remarkable amount of historiographical obfuscation, and a careful reappraisal of the surviving evidence is required in

order to assess the nature and content of the heresy.

The ideologue and principal proselytiser in Durango was Fr. Alongo de Mella, an Observant Franciscan. He was a native of Zamora and the brother of Juan de Mella, bishop of Zamora, who was made a cardinal in 1456. It is this blood relationship which explains why so much evidence about this particular friar has survived in papal correspondence.[29] In 1434 Fr.Mella's doctrines had been condemned by Eugenius IV, and this led to his detention in an Italian monastery.[30] He was subsequently transferred to a monastery in Coria where again he seems to have aroused controversy. In 1442 Fr.Mella was reported to be preaching heresy in the Basque town of Durango, news of which filtered through to ecclesiastical circles and the royal court.[31] Members of the regular and secular clergy in the area were accused of having converted to Fr.Mella's sect, and this led the Durango town council to demand their arrest and the confiscation of their goods. John II responded by sending officials to investigate the alleged heresy. As a result of this pesquisa more than one hundred men, women and children were arrested, and many of them were burnt as heretics in Valladolid, Santo Domingo de la Calzada, and Durango.[32] By 1460, according to a contemporary chronicler, the Durango heresy had been wiped

out, and Fr.Mella had fled with some of his followers to Granada where he was later killed by the Moors.[33]

This account merely provides a chronological outline of the heresy. Many lacunae remain, especially regarding the doctrinal content of the movement, and it is in this area that historiographical confusion emerges. Although surviving evidence is vague, and often based on hearsay, the source material does make it possible to build up a picture of one aspect of the movement. This aspect is the way in which the movement was perceived at the time, and although such a perception would be prejudiced, it does provide a framework for assessing the general significance of the heresy.

Several sources state that Fr. Mella preached that all goods and women should be held in common. The first charge may be a misinterpretation of the Franciscan rejection of individual ownership of goods; the second charge was a common accusation levelled against a large number of medieval heretical sects, especially those which attracted a significant degree of female participation.[34] Medieval clerics and inquisitors tended to equate female involvement in heretical sects with unbridled sexual activity and antinomianism. Thus female membership was used as a criterion for condemning

an entire movement, regardless of doctrinal deviation. More precise information on the beliefs and practices of the Durango heretics is contained in a letter sent to John II in c.1454 from Fr.Mella, then in Granada, and in a letter to the Pope in 1453 from Fernando de Munqueta, a presbyter in the diocese of Calahorra.[35] According to Munqueta, who had been personally involved in investigating the heresy, the followers of Fr. Mella believed that a Pope was no longer necessary as the 'Age of Grace' had arrived in which all laws and ceremonies had ceased to exist, and in which all things were to be held in common.[36] If Munqueta's resumé is accurate, then it would appear that Fr.Mella's doctrine was strongly influenced by Joachimist and egalitarian beliefs. This is reinforced by the information contained in the friar's own letter to John II. In this he presented the king with a synopsis of his beliefs, claiming, among other things, that the unfolding of God's truth had occurred at different stages; that both he and his followers had been assigned a divinely ordained role to renew the face of the earth and to preach the truth of the Holy Scriptures, but that persecution had deflected them from their divine mission, forcing them to flee to the kingdom of Granada.[37] Fr. Mella concluded his letter with the startling announcement that both he and his followers had come to believe

that the Saracens were in fact Christians and that there was no such thing as an exclusively Christian God but that there was only one God of all, Christians and Saracens alike.[38]

The Durango heresy evidently made a deep impression at the time, as references to Fr.Mella and his sect continued to be made in subsequent chronicles. In the Cuarta Crónica General, for example, composed c.1460, there are indications that the Durango episode was assuming the attributes of a popular legend.[39] The chronicler reported that Fr.Mella and his followers had seduced the local women, with whom they indulged in fornication in the caves and mountains of the Basque countryside.[40] Moreover, these heretics wandered around crying 'Alleluya and charity' and addressed each other by the names of saints, such as St.Peter or St.Paul.[41] However, once again these were characteristics which were ascribed to a variety of heretical sects, such as the Beghards and Brethren of the Free Spirit. References to the Durango heretics in the chronicle of Diego de Valera, composed during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, indicate that the heresy may have been affected by Averroistic beliefs since, according to Valera, Fr. Mella's philosophy was encapsulated in the phase, 'No hay otra cosa que nascer y morir'.[42] The heretics

were also accused of interpreting the Holy Scriptures in a different way from the authorised version, but no precise examples are given of this latter allegation.[43]

The Durango heretics also left their mark on other literary works. Goñi Gaztambide, for example, has pointed out the reference made to the duranguesado in the Crónica Burlesca del Emperador Carlos V, composed in the 1520s by Francesillo de Zúñiga, the buffoon of Charles.[44] In an anecdote recounting the hazardous conditions encountered by the entourage of the Portuguese Infanta Isabel, the future wife of Charles V, on its journey from Portugal to Castile, some ladies-in-waiting decided to risk travelling by boat on a flood-swollen river. In this enterprise they were accompanied by the ambassador of the Portuguese king, Pedro Correa:

> 'and many of them commended themselves to him thinking that he was San Telmo. And some of them swore oaths to dishonour their parents and give a bad account of their honour; others promised to observe the Order of Charity which Fray Alonso de Mella had set up in Durango.'[45]

Goñi Gaztambide suggests that this was a malicious allusion to the alleged wandering-cry of Fr.Mella's followers, 'Alleluya and charity.' This is possible,

but there is another reference to Fr.Mella's 'Order of Charity' in the Inquisition trial of an alumbrado heretic. Here Fr.Mella is cited by one theologian in connection with the errors of the 'beghards and beguines'. The theologian concludes that if the Holy Office had not acted so zealously in rooting out heretics like the defendant, 'it is certain that the abominable Charity which Amaury and Fray Alonso de Mella had preached, would have been introduced'.[46] Therefore, in the 1520s, in the mind of at least one Castilian theologian, a doctrinal amalgamation had been made of the beliefs and practices of beghards, beguines, Amaury of Bene and Fr. Alonso de Mella.[47] On a more general literary level, however, Mella's sect, the 'Order of Charity', was jokingly invoked as a byword for sexual licence.

The surviving evidence reveals certain similarities between the followers of Fr.Mella and other Medieval heretical sects, but this is insufficient to suggest that an organised heretical movement existed in mid-fifteenth century Durango. A more fruitful line of enquiry would be to examine the Duranguesado from more oblique angles: for example, from the point of view of the typology of Fr.Mella's followers, the geographical isolation of the Durango region from the

ecclesiatical authorities, and in terms of what we know of the 'religious landscape 'of the region. Moreover, was the fact that Fr.Mella was both an outsider to the region and a mendicant friar a crucial factor in provoking a heresy scare?

Recently Lambert has argued convincingly that there is no evidence that the medieval sect known as the Brethren of the Free Spirit ever existed as a formally organised movement.[48] Instead, he suggests that these Free Spirit heretics should be viewed as individuals or groups of radical mystics who communicated via informal networks, but who did not profess one single coherent body of doctrine. Although he does concede that there might have been instances of organised heresy behind some of the major outbreaks, he believes that in general terms 'heresy scares' can be linked to jurisdictional disputes between the mendicants and the secular clergy. He states that '... one major recurring source of trouble lay in the resentments of the secular clergy in the city against the popular influence of mendicants who were intimately linked with the beguine movements. Targets of the persecution varied, including beghards, anticlericals and individualists, deviant mystics, beguines in convents, pious women, tertiaries: the effects of the troubles

were to drive the beguine movement more than ever towards the mendicants, obviously for protection.'[49] In these circumstances, internecine faction-fighting could lead to the manufacturing of a heresy by the threatened group. How does this type of approach clarify the Duranguesado episode? One should point out that Fr. Mella did hold heretical views, as was made abundantly clear in his letter to John II in 1454. But were these the same ideas he was preaching in Durango a decade before, or were they developed in response to his persecution and subsequent flight to Granada? This is impossible to ascertain, but whatever the precise nature of Fr.Mella's teachings in Durango, they were certainly controversial. Moreover, Fr.Mella's doctrine was disseminated in a region where episcopal authority was weak; this geographical isolation may have been an additional factor in determining the authorities' response to Fr.Mella's threat.

There was no male Franciscan house in mid-fifteenth century Durango, and Fr.Mella was thus operating outside the jurisdiction of his Order. However, there was a female Franciscan tertiary house which had been founded in 1439 by three women.[50] In the fourteenth century this type of female religious organisation was regarded with suspicion by the Papacy and civil authorities, and was

perceived as a seedbed of heterodox and heretical ideas. The major mendicant orders seemed to have protected these communities, and indeed many beguinages were transformed into official tertiary houses attached to a particular order.[51] It is possible that Fr.Mella sought out the only Franciscan community in Durango, and perhaps used this as a forum for his heretical teachings. This is merely a hypothesis, but two further pieces of evidence hint at a link between Fr.Mella and the Franciscan tertiaries. Firstly, Fr. Mella was reported to have fled to Granada in the company of some 'nuns', which suggests that his companions wore a distinctive style of dress, such as a religious habit.[52] Secondly, one of the royal representatives sent to Durango in 1442 was a Franciscan friar, Fr.Francisco de Soria.[53] This friar was closely involved with the reform of the Franciscan Order in Castile, and, more pertinently, he was Visitor and Reformer of the female Franciscan convents in Castile. In the late 1430s he had been sent to reform the Poor Clares in Segovia, Salamanca and Medina de Pomar. Therefore, John II's selection of this particular friar to investigate heresy in Durango is not without significance.

The existence of a female tertiary house and the controversial sermons preached by F.Mella must be seen within the general context of levels of religious

instruction and lay religious participation in Durango. If these were minimal, then the presence of tertiaries and a Franciscan preacher may have been viewed as dangerous novelties. No detailed information on the level of Christianity in Durango has survived, but one German traveller has left a record of his impressions of the seemingly 'pagan' customs of the Basques.[54] According to Tetzel, who visited Castile in 1464-5, the priests in Vizcaya, where Durango is situated, were generally unlearned and lived in concubinage– two features which were not unique to the fifteenth-century Basque region. However, these priests were only capable of teaching the Ten Commandments, and they did not administer the sacrament of penance to the laity. Tetzel also referred to the'superstitious' practices of the Basques: 'In that country there are costly tombs of stone. They are much regarded, and the women deck them with sweet-smelling herbs and flowers and burn lights before them'.[55] Through Northern European eyes, therefore, the Basque region was characterised as unchristian, with low levels of religious instruction and observance, and the inhabitants still retained certain 'superstitious' customs.

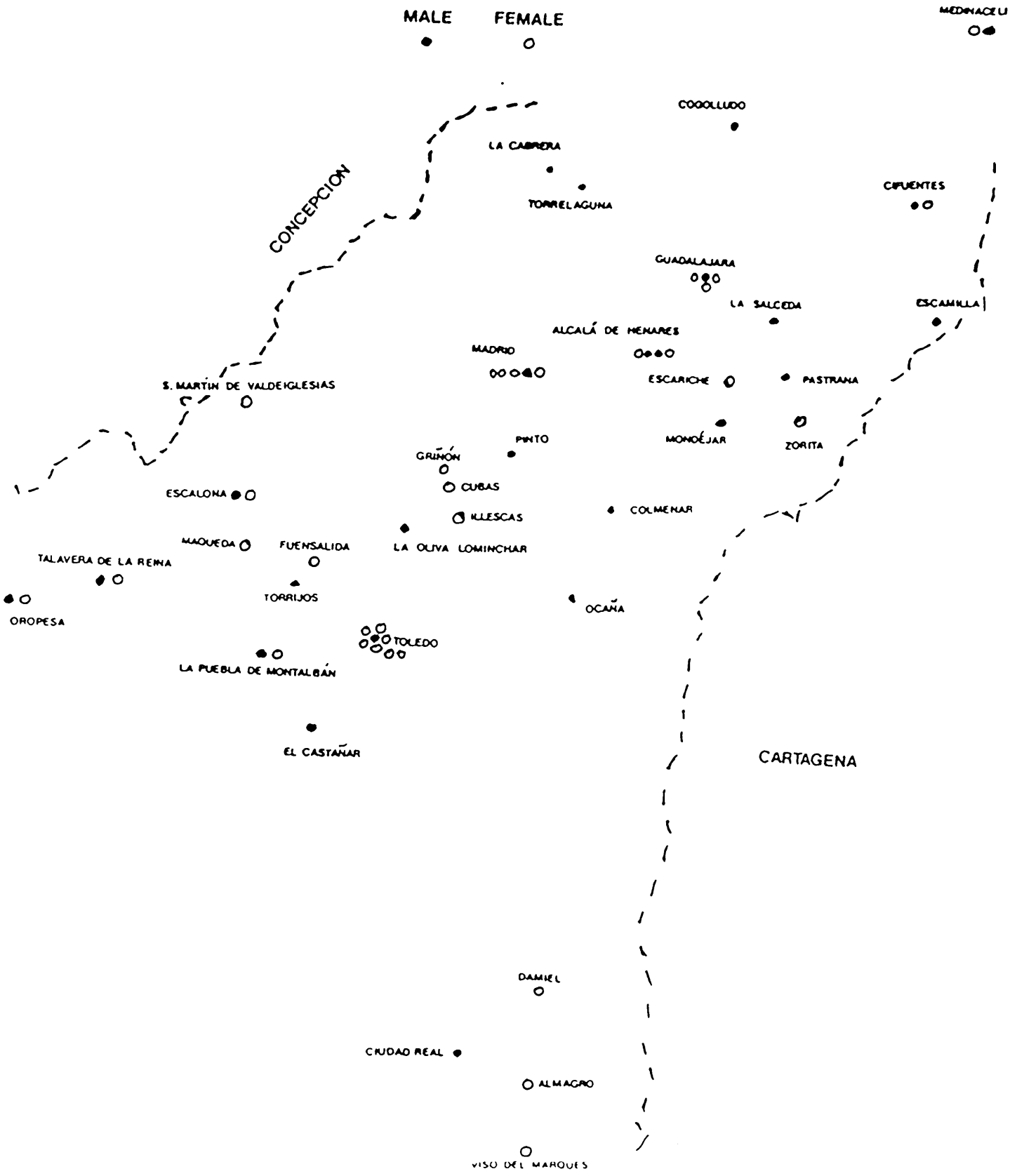
Seen from this point of view, the episode of the Duranguesado takes on a slightly different appearance. In

Durango, the secular clergy were possibly careless in fulfilling their pastoral duties, episcopal power and supervision were geographically distant, and a group of pious women had recently established a Franciscan tertiary community. This was the religious landscape into which Fr.Mella, an Observant Franciscan with a reputation for controversial beliefs, set foot. Many of the classic ingredients of a 'heresy scare' were thus present: the millenarian and egalitarian content of the heresy was considered subversive and posed an immediate threat; the propagator of this doctrine was an Observant Franciscan friar, an 'outsider' who in some ways acted as the archetypal channel for non-conformist or heretical ideas; and the friar's teachings attracted a significant following, some of which may have been recruited from the female tertiary house, thus overlaying the movement with suspicions of sexual immorality. The area was also isolated from the effective jurisdiction of the local bishop, and the infringement of this jurisdiction by a friar created a potential source of conflict. All these factors, fuelled by the urgent immediacy of Fr.Mella's teachings, combined to provoke the intervention of a royal commission in Durango during the reign of John II.

The phenomenon of alumbradismo[56].

The ascetic regimes adopted by the Villacrecian Franciscans in the fifteenth century fostered a perculiar type of mysticism and contemplative piety.[57] Had this spirituality remained confined to the cloister, it would have been considered nothing more than a minor phenomenon within reformed Franciscanism, an interesting but rather peripheral contribution to Franciscan spirituality as a whole. However, in the early sixteenth century, in the Franciscan province of Castile, this mystical piety was actively promoted by the friars among the townspeople of New Castile.[58] At this time, the most powerful figure in the region was the Archbishop of Toledo, Fr.Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros, an Observant Franciscan who had spent his noviciate in the Villacrecian friary of La Salceda, near Guadalajara. Under Cisneros, the number of male and female Franciscan houses in this area increased rapidly, and he also established a Franciscan college beside the newly founded university of Alcalá de Henares.[59] The strong Franciscan presence, the founding of a new university by the Franciscan Archbishop, and the dissemination of a Franciscanised spirituality by the local friars made this area of New Castile a fascinating melting-pot for religious ideas and innovations. These spiritual ideas emanating from the cloister and university contained a

FRANCISCAN HOUSES – "PROVINCE" OF CASTILE
C. 1570



certain intrinsic tension between, on the one hand the contemplative, active, and apostolic life of the friars, and, on the other, the rational and affective tendency in theology at Alcalá.[60] The Franciscan method of recogimiento, developed in the friary of La Salceda, and taught to clerics and laity alike, allowed the friars to combine the active and contemplative aspects of their vocation. And in the case of Alcalá, Cisneros' innovation of establishing three chairs of theology, which taught the three main scholastic methods (the Thomist, Scotist and Nominalist), was another means of resolving the tension.[61] However, these solutions carried within them the seeds of their own destruction: the Franciscan attempts to instruct the laity in recogimiento, and the 'free thinking' atmosphere of Alcalá, which encouraged the discussion of Erasmian humanist ideals as well as other theological ideas, were both condemned by the Inquisition as being manifestations of alumbradismo.[62] In order to disentangle the processes through which 'orthodox' ideas were transformed into heresy by the Holy Office, it is necessary to decipher what was meant by the term alumbradismo. When and why was it condemned by the Inquisition? More important, what was the Franciscan dimension to the phenomenon of illuminism?

Alumbradismo was identified as a problem in 1524 when the Toledo tribunal arrested certain individuals, identified variously as 'alumbrados', 'dexados', and 'perfectos'.[63] Before this date the term 'alumbrado' was impeccably orthodox, and was used to describe someone of exemplary piety.[64] In an auto-de-fe held in 1529 in Toledo seven people were tried and convicted as alumbrados, and this was followed up in the 1530s by further alumbrado trials.[65] As far as the surviving evidence shows, only three alumbrados were burnt at the stake in Toledo and Granada.[66] Therefore, in comparison to the harsh treatment meted out at an earlier period to judaizing conversos, the alumbrados were not considered a serious threat to Catholic orthodoxy. Although numerically insignificant, however, the condemnation of the alumbrados was the harbinger of a new trend in Castile: by the 1540s, the Inquisition's net had been widened to take in targets as diverse as Erasmians, alumbrados and 'Lutherans'.[67] After a brief period of religious innovation, intolerance and hostility to new ideas had become the hallmark of pre-Tridentine Spain.

What was alumbradismo? In this case definitions are notoriously difficult because of the fragmentary nature of the sources, and because of the errors and misconceptions written into the evidence. Selke points out that

the theologians and letrados in the Suprema were incapable of identifying the precise heretical content of alumbradismo, resorting instead to the old device of cataloguing apparent similarities between alumbrado beliefs and those of earlier heretic sects.[68] The main source for a study of alumbradismo, apart from the surviving Inquisition trials, is the Edict against the alumbrados promulgated in September 1525 by Alonso Manrique, the Inquisitor General.[69] However, most of the heretical propositions which it listed were drawn from the prosecution evidence in the trials in question and were taken out of context. No rigorous methodology was employed by the Holy Office, and no attempt was made to present a systematic summary of alumbrado beliefs and practices.[70] Alumbradismo was thus subject to the same kind of imprecise 'labelling process' as was evident in the episode of the Duranguesado. In 1525 alumbradismo was officially incorporated into the Inquisition's catalogue of heresies, and henceforth the term was used indiscriminately against a variety of victims, from revelationary nuns to false mystics.

Recently historians have tried to rescue the original 'purist' alumbrado movement from this historiographical confusion, and in the process of unravelling the different strands, they have devised rather schematic categor-

ies. These have produced a bewildering array of sects and sub-groups, such as recogidos, dejados, Erasmian humanists and apocalyptic-millenarians.[71] These categories have a limited usefulness insofar as they present a more accurate reflection of the contemporary spiritual scene. However, the distinctions should not be pushed too far, as internal evidence in the Inquisition trials suggests that 'boundaries' between the various groups were not finely drawn and that the similarities between them outweighed the differences.

There was, however, one division which did exist at the time, although it was one which was not properly understood by the Holy Office or by some of the alumbrados themselves. This was the distinction made between the orthodox method of recogimiento, taught by the Franciscan friars of La Salceda, and the heretical practice of dejamiento.[72] The main characteristics of the latter were a disdain for external rituals and ceremonies, and an emphasis on interior contemplation in order to reach a state of holy 'abandonment' to the love of God. The dejados, therefore, ignored the external rituals of Catholicism and were frequently denounced by witnesses for failing to perform the correct body movements during Mass, such as kneeling, striking the breast at the

consecration of the Host, or moving the lips in the recital of prayer.[73] The heart of dejado spirituality was allegedly encapsulated in the phrase, 'the love of God in man is God': this was the ultimate objective of the dejados, to reach and be in the love of God, and this end was to be attained through a passive abandonment of the will and senses to God.[74] Once an adept had reached this state of abandonment to the love of God, then he or she believed that it was impossible to commit a mortal sin.[75] From this last stance the Inquisition extrapolated that the dejados believed that they were impeccable, and therefore ignored the normal rules of morality.[76]

In order to reach the love of God, dejado recruits had to undergo a three-level training and preparation period. Those at the bottom level, the 'beginners' were subjected to a purification process in which they observed fasts and abstinences, inflicted disciplines on their bodies, recited certain prayers, and meditated on the Passion of Christ. On reaching the second level, the 'instructed' were expected to abandon these physical and mental exercises, regarding them as being lowly and unworthy, and were to concentrate their energies on mental prayer and on repressing all imaginative thoughts in preparation for attaining the love of God. At the third

level, the 'perfect' were expected to be in total abandonment and unity of the love of God.[77]

How did the recogimiento differ from dejamiento?[78] The most detailed description of recogimiento is contained in a tract written by Fr.Francisco de Osuna, entitled Tercer Abecedario Espiritual, which was published in 1527.[79] The book was written in the 1520s when Fr. Osuna was an inmate in La Salceda, and contains several references to people mentioned in the alumbrado trials. Consequently it is possible that the Franciscan rewrote certain sections of the book after the arrest of the alumbrados in 1524, in order to protect himself and his Order against charges of heresy. According to Fidèle Ros, Osuna probably received his theological training in the university of Alcalá, and was an inmate in La Salceda between 1520-3 before moving to the friary of Escalona.[80]

The friary of La Salceda, situated between the towns of Tendilla and Peñalver, had been designated a 'recollect' in the early sixteenth century.[81] This meant that friars there could dedicate themselves to a life of asceticism and contemplation, rather than combining this with apostolic work. This, however, did not

prevent some of the inmates from visiting the nearby towns of Guadalajara and Pastrana, where they delivered sermons and held prayer meetings in private households.[82] In the Tercer Abecedario Espiritual Fr.Osuna pointed out that he himself did not develop the method of recogimiento but that he had been instructed by some elderly friars who had been following it for some fifty years.[83] However, Fr.Osuna was apparently responsible for the transfer of this method of prayer from the cloister to the outside world, and the avowed aim of his book was to publicise recogimiento so that all 'estates' of society could receive its spiritual benefits.[84] It was this involvement of the laity in the practice of recogimiento which proved detrimental as it became associated with the phenomenon of alumbradismo.

The Tercer Abecedario Espiritual presented a timetable of spiritual and manual activities of the La Salceda friars.[85] A minimum of four and three quarter hours daily was spent in mental prayer compared with the two and a half hours minimum imposed by the statutes of recollects. The rest of the day was occupied with attending mass, observing the Canonical hours, and in performing domestic chores. Daily prayer usually centered

around meditation on the life and suffering of Christ, and on the mystery of the Eucharist.[86] Full initiation into recogimiento took years of practice during which recruits had to follow a three-level training course. Unlike the dejados, however, Fr.Osuna did not impose a rigid hierarchy of spiritual exercises for 'beginners', 'proficients', and 'perfecti'. Instead he believed that recruits should make use of the prayers and practices they found most beneficial. However, he did provide a list of spiritual practices in an ascending order of importance. At the bottom were corporal exercises such as penances, good works, and pilgrimages. In the middle were exercises of the mind, such as meditation on the Passion of Christ. And at the top was recogimiento, or complete union with the Godhead. Different modes of prayer were also employed at these different levels, beginning with vocal prayer, then meditation or mental prayer, and finally direct communication with God unhindered by visible or mental images. Actions carried out by 'beginners' were external and corporal; 'proficients' meditated on holy thoughts and imposed a spiritual penance on themselves through which they reachd self-knowledge; the 'perfect' progressed from self-knowledge to knowledge of the Godhead and were admitted to the innermost secrets

of God. At this purest level of *recogimiento*, the 'perfect' were sustained through God's love.[87]

Fr.Osuna provided instruction on how *recogimiento* was to be reached.[88] As the external senses detracted the soul from complete concentration on the Godhead, the first requirement of a *recogido* was to blunt or tame his or her senses through acts of penitence, thus repressing all sensuality. The model to be used was Christ, and through an imitation of Christ, the recruit was guided towards the Godhead. There were two different types of *recogimiento*, one a general state, the other a special act: the former was a continuous state of mind or attitude in which union with God occupied the central place; the latter was a temporary act of prayer where the recruit retired to a quiet spot to contemplate. The essence of *recogimiento* was to think of nothing ('*no pensar nada*') but, as Fr.Osuna points out, in thinking of nothing and thus channeling the soul's energies towards union with God, the adept was paradoxically thinking of everything.[89]

There were certain parallels between the *dejado* and *recogido* hierarchies of spiritual excercises. The recommendation that beginners in the practice of *recogimiento* should concentrate on fasts and external works was similar to that proposed by the *dejados*. However,

where the two schools of spirtuality diverged was over the dejados' recommendation that these preliminary exercises should be abandoned once the recruit had reached the second level.[90] The recogidos had a much more utilitarian approach which allowed recruits to use whichever method of prayer or exercise they found most helpful, and, unlike the dejados, they made contemplation on Christ's Passion the cornerstone of their spirituality.[91]

Both the recogidos and dejados were in broad agreement over the value of affective rather than learned spirituality. In the Tercer Abecedario Espiritual, Osuna declared that, '...in this business of recogimiento we ought to make everyone masters(maestros) and teach it to all faithful Christians who wish to follow it..'[92] This was a direct challenge to the notion that knowledge of spiritual things should be the preserve of an academic or clerical elite. The dejados' opposition to 'men of letters' was a motif running through evidence given by witnesses in the Inquisition trials. ' In order to know God, the study of letters is not necessary...', declared Pedro de Baeza, repeating what he had heard in Escalona about the teachings of the dejados.[93] A witness from Pastrana corroborated this view:

' ..I also heard from Francisco Ximenez, and I think he told me he heard this from Alcaraz or in Guadalajara, ...that one should not strive to understand the wording, nor to stop and wonder how such a thing is, but merely to understand something well....And I heard some of them say,"Blessed are you, Oh Lord , that you hide things from the learned and reveal them to simple, humble people"...'[94] Isabel de la Cruz, one of the leaders of the dejados, believed that 'learning killed the spirit', perhaps unconciously echoing the old Franciscan dictum, 'Paris has destroyed Assissi'. She also believed that the Holy Scriptures should be read in a humble spirit, not with the intention of scrutinising specific Biblical passages.[95] These latter references not only reveal a hostility to learned spirituality but also to the humanist philological method which was currently in vogue at the university of Alcalá.[96]

Despite these similarities between the two groups, there did exist a fundamental disagreement over the physical and mental phenomena experienced by the recogidos. In general terms, the dejados considered visions, ecstatic fits, and convulsions as delusions induced by the Devil rather than as signs of God's favour.[97] The Tercer Abecedario Espiritual contains several references to friars and laypeople who experienced levitation,

trembling-fits, and visions.[98] Fr.Osuna acknowledged the possibility that these experiences could be either hypocritical or delusionary, but he also rebuked the dejados' stance which rejected any visual display of spirituality: 'Though in our times God bestows such graces on many people,' he wrote, 'there are others so opposed to it that, when they see in others exterior signs of favour they themselves do not receive, they think those so honoured must be mad, or deluded or possessed, and the least evil they attribute to such persons is hypocrisy.'[99] The opposition of the dejados to the recogidos ' visions and trances marked off the one group from the other, and ironically it was the more restrained dejados who were condemned as heretical rather than the exhibitionary recogidos. The latter, however, seem to have restrained their visionary behaviour after the arrest of the dejados , and indeed a weaver from Pastrana, who followed the method of recogimiento, was arrested in 1524 on suspicion of heresy.[100] The controversy surrounding the Franciscans in Escalona, which will be discussed in more detail below, and the subsequent withdrawal of Franciscan immunity from Inquisitorial prosecution in 1525, forced the Franciscans to re-assess their position on visions and other exotic forms of recogimiento.[101] Although few Franciscans

were apparently put on trial for alumbradismo, there persisted throughout the 1520s the suspicion that the friars were responsible for the doctrine of alumbradismo. Has any evidence survived to substantiate this claim? If so, what was the Franciscan dimension?

As has been noted, there were many similarities between the methods of recogimiento and dejamiento: both emphasied meditation, communication with God through experience rather than learning, and both had developed hierarchies of spiritual excercises. It is impossible to pin down the origins of these two methods, but their contemporaneous appearance in this area of New Castile suggests that they had a common root, and that one was in fact the offshoot of the other. Fr.Osuna pointed out that recogimiento had been practised in La Salceda since at least c.1470. Therefore, it is possible that dejamiento developed from the practical application of recogimiento outside the confines of the friary. Fr. Osuna also stated that there was no one clearly defined way of practising recogimiento but that it contained many grades and forms of expression. Was dejamiento, then, one of the many forms that recogimiento assumed, or to use Fr.Osuna's metaphor, one of the 'many rooms in the castle of recogimiento'?[103]

There was one clear link between the Franciscans and dejamiento: the leader and ideologue of the movement was Isabel de la Cruz, a Franciscan tertiary from Guadalajara.[104] At his trial, Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, one of the leaders of the movement, claimed that Isabel had developed her ideas from the teachings of some Franciscan friars.[105] This may have been offered as a self-defence, as a way of clearing her name, but further circumstantial evidence suggests that she was in close contact with the local Franciscans. According to a female prosecution witness, a Franciscan friar, Fr.Pedro de Ragalado, had warned her in c.1519 not to denounce Isabel de la Cruz to the Inquisition as the entire Franciscan Order would come to the tertiary's defence.[106] This same witness also claimed that she had been persecuted by Fr.Cristobal de Tendilla, another Franciscan from La Salceda, because she had submitted a deposition against Isabel de la Cruz to the tribunal in Toldeo.[107] Furthermore, in July 1527, three years after the arrest of the tertiary and other alumbrados, almost two hundred letters were found in their possession, most of which were addressed to Isabel de la Cruz; eleven friars appear as signatories to these letters, five of whom can positively be identified as Franciscans.[108] Two measures, taken in 1524 and 1525 respectively, suggest

that some Franciscans had become implicated in the alumbrado movement: firstly, at the Provincial Chapter held in Toledo in May 1524, four weeks after the arrest of the alumbrados, the Franciscan General, Fr.Francisco de los Angeles Quiñones, condemned the practice of illuminism or dejamiento and threatened to imprison any friars who persisted in this 'pernicious' practice;[109] secondly, in May 1525, the Pope revoked the Franciscan privilege of immunity from investigation by the Holy Office.[110] Therefore, on the basis of this evidence, it seems clear that the Franciscan Order was implicated in the alumbrado heresy. Yet the major problem remains over the fact that the Franciscan Order emerged relatively unscathed from its association with the heresy. Why did the Holy Office prosecute so few friars between 1525 -34 when they were under the jurisdiction of the Inquisition? Why was the practice of recogimiento as such not condemned by the Inquisition? Why were some recogido adepts, but not others, arrested by the Inquisition? What criteria did the Inquisition employ in selecting certain people as scapegoats? Some of the answers to these questions can be found in examining the practical impact of the method of recogimiento on the inhabitants of Pastrana and the neighbouring towns. Such an analysis of recogimiento in its social context may reveal whether

doctrinal contents or social characteristics were more crucial in the distinction the Inquisition made between heresy and orthodoxy.

The publication and teaching of the method of recogimiento seems to have been fairly well organised: people in Pastrana recalled that several 'spiritual instructors' had visited the town between 1522-4 where they held prayer meetings and delivered sermons in private households.[111] Among the Franciscan 'instructors' were Bishop Juan de Cazalla, from Guadalajara and ex-resident in La Salceda, Fr.Francisco Ortiz, lector in Logic at the Pastrana friary and another ex-novice in La Salceda, Fr.Cristobal de Tendilla, Fr.Francisco de Osuna and Fr. Angel de la Salceda, all from La Salceda. Witnesses' recollections of the content of these private sermons indicate how the method of recogimiento was taught to local inhabitants. For example, Bachiller Olivares, a cleric, explained that he and his neighbours:

> '...adopted the method of mental prayer, which is called recogimiento, which means not to drain away the senses, but to try and suppress any thoughts and to let the soul be tranquil. This is done so that the soul is in such a state that you neither remember yourself nor God; but although you don't remember him in your mind...your soul is united

> with God. And to reach this stage, we knelt down for a while and then we sat in a corner with our eyes closed, and stayed like this for a long time. Sometimes I would open my eyes so as not to scandalise passers-by; other times I did not do so, because Ortiz, a Franciscan friar, told me not to. We were taught this by Fr.Francisco de Osuna, from La Salceda, and Fr. Cristobal and Fr.Ortiz.....' [112]

Olivares went on to say that recogidos taught that neither vocal prayer nor meditation on Christ's passion were necessarily to be given up, but there was greater perfection to be found in the practice of recogimiento.

Another Pastrana witness, Nicolás de Embid, was also taught recogimiento by this particular trio of Franciscan friars. They told him '.....that they should raise their wills to love God, and that with this and in this suspended state, there was no need to seek anything else..... And in this way God gave you great knowledge and taught a marvellous learning in the secrecy of the soul without any noise of words....[113] The parish priest of Pastrana, Gabriel Sánchez, had been given personal instruction by Fr.Osuna; he was told that:

> 'every day he should try, when he had the opportunity, to spend an hour in recogimineto before Mass, thinking firstly about what he was about to receive and on the Passion of our Saviour; and another hour after Mass reflecting on what he had received. And I used this for some time when the opportunity arose, and I spoke to several people and taught them this recogimiento; but I always told them to say their devotions first, and to think on the Passion of our Saviour, and then to go into a state of recogimiento; and if Our Lord gave them some feelings or consolations, then they should receive them with humility, attributing them to His mercy. And I remember Fr.Francisco Ortiz talking to me about this recogimiento and he told me the same as Fr. Francisco de Osuna' 114

There are two points of note in the priest's testimony. Firstly, the reference to the preliminary stages, private devotion followed by meditation on the Passion, before proceeding to the final state of recogimiento, closely corresponds to the spiritual hierarchy set down in Fr.Osuna's Tercer Abecedario Espiritual. Secondly, the mention of 'feelings' or 'consolations' indicates that Fr.Osuna did not rule out the possibility of visionary or other spiritual phenomena. The fact that the priest was advised to centre his recogimiento around the celebration of Mass suggests that this divine service could serve as a focal point for recogimiento. More particularly, the emphasis that Fr.Osuna gave to meditation on Christ's passion im-

plies that a specific moment during Mass, the emotionally charged moment of consecration, constituted the intermediary stage between private devotions and the final stage of recogimiento. As the primary aim of recogimiento was to reach union with God, did the reception of the Holy Eucharist signal the culmination of the three-stage process? This does not seem to have been the case with the Pastrana priest, as he was advised to spend a further hour in recogimiento after Mass. However, both the Primer Abecedario Espiritual, another of Fr.Osuna's spiritual tracts, and certain Inquisition trials contain examples of the partaking of the Holy Eucharist, or anticipation of receiving it, acting as a catalyst for the attainment of recogimiento. For example, Fr.Osuna recounted that he had seen a friar:

> 'whose custom it was almost always to prepare himself for receiving the flesh and blood of Christ:from midnight onwards, in particular,he spent more than three hours getting ready to say Mass: during Mass he felt such unbearable sweetness that he often had to hold on to the altar to stop himself falling over..;and after receiving the Holy Sacrament he was normally in a trance for two hours...' 115

The Franciscan Guardian of Escalona,Fr.Juan de Olmillos, experienced the same trance-like symptoms after receiving the Eucharist.[116] Among the laity, a widow from Madrid used to suffer fits before receiving Communion: and a weaver from Pastrana experienced the same tremors when the host was raised at Consecration or when the Blessed

Sacrament was carried through the streets.[117] Therefore, although reception of the Eucharist was not necessarily an efficient cause,there is a frequent correlation between it and the attainment of recogimiento.

Alonso López de la Palomera,a weaver from Pastrana left detailed descriptions in his Inquisition trial of visionary experiences whilst in a state of recogimiento. He was taught recogimiento by a certain Fr.Angel,a Franciscan friar from La Salceda, when the latter had been on his way to a chapter meeting in Mondejar in 1522.[118] The friar told Palomera not to spend so much time on private devotions but to ask God to do his will in him. He was told that by the time the friar had returned from Mondejar, he would have experienced God's graces. After this initiation into recogimiento Palomera travelled to Madrid and Toledo, where he had talked to many people and had demonstrated the spiritual graces he received from God. In Pastrana,Palomera had also come in contact with the visionary Guardian of Escalona through his son,who was a friar in Fr.Olmillos's friary.[120] It is possible, therefore, that the more exhibitionary tendencies he displayed were derived from the Escalona rather than the La Salceda connection. On the feast of Corpus Christi,a feast of special devotion to the Blessed sacrament,he was brought to a female Dominican convent in Toledo where he told the nuns to ask nothing of God but to abandon themselves to

Him.[121] When asked what he felt when he was in a state of elevation, he replied that he saw a great light and received knowledge and enjoyment, and that sometimes his soul was with the Seraphims. The nuns asked if there were any other 'alumbrados' like him: '... and he said "yes"...and he named there a certain Fray Angel, of the Order of St.Francis, whom he mentioned a lot, and he said that the latter had consoled him a lot,and he gave them to understand that the friar had taught him this (recogimiento)...'[122] In the weaver's opinion, then, his spiritual mentor was not the visionary Fr.Olmillos but Fr.Angel from La Salceda. The weaver was not the only inhabitant of Pastrana who experienced the visionary effects of recogimiento; the dejado, Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, declared that groups of up to twenty people in Pastrana were trying to experience visions and trances collectively, and that some of them were trying to achieve a state of permanent trance.[123]

Although, given the nature of this spirituality, one would have expected the impact and consequences of recogimiento to have gone unrecorded, a reasonable amount of information has survived. Candidates were instructed to rid their mind of thoughts and, after preliminary preparations of prayers and contemplation on Christ's

Passion, perhaps to kneel in a quiet spot with their eyes closed as an aid to meditation, in this way elevating their souls to union with God. Instruction was given either on a personal basis or to groups of individuals who, in turn, instructed others in the method. Although not a necessary byproduct, visionary trances could be experienced by those in a state of recogimiento. It was these visionary or trance-like effects of recogimiento which caught the attention of the non-initiated. Was it this particular manifestation of recogimiento which the Inquisition was opposed to, and which forced the Franciscan hierarchy to urge restraint among the friars? Or was it the combination of this visionary recogimiento with the participation of uneducated laity which influenced the Inquisition's pattern of arrests?

In examining the question of the controversy provoked by the visions and trances of some recogido adepts, there exists the danger of distortion in the surving sources. The 'quietist' form of recogimiento, after all, would be unamenable to Inquisitorial scrutiny, as the tribunal was more concerned with external conformity. Also, Franciscan immunity from Inquisitorial investigation prior to 1525 meant that the physical symptoms experienced by recogido friars within La Salceda went

unrecorded in Inquisition sources. It was only when visions and trances were transferred to the public domain, whether in the Franciscan church in Escalona or in the streets and public squares of Pastrana, that they became visible in the Inquisition records. Even here, however, there are problems involved in evaluating the evidence, as the physical and mental symptoms of the recogidos, observed by the non-initiated and described by them as 'arrobamientos', may have been nothing more than adepts closing their eyes during recogimiento.[124] It is possible, therefore, that the more sensational aspects of recogimiento were given an exaggerated emphasis by witnesses. Dejados who were opposed to visionary excesses also tended to over-emphasise them, perhaps in an attempt to dissociate themselves from such scandals. One of the leaders of the dejados, Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz, remained convinced that the Holy Office had wrongfully detained him and that the real 'heretics' were the visionary recogidos in Pastrana and Escalona. In Pastrana, he claimed, many people had given up their jobs so as to devote their energies to visionary activities. The leaders behind this visionary movement, according to Alcaraz, were Franciscan friars:...'they told me there(Pastrana) that the friars of La Salceda had taught them these things (transponimientos), especially

a certain Fr.Cristobal de Tendilla, an old practitioner of this method....'[125] Alcaraz's most scathing denunciations, however, were reserved for the Franciscans in Escalona, whose visionary excesses had allegedly deluded them into devising a plan to depose the Pope.[126] A detailed examination of Alcaraz's allegations reveals that the Franciscan hierarchy kept the situation in Escalona under their own control by imposing certain restraints on the Franciscan Guardian and the preacher, the two major figures in the alleged 'reformation' movement. These restraints did not imply disapproval of visionary behaviour; on the contrary Fr.Juan de Olmillos, the Guardian, was promoted to definidor in 1525 and Provincial of Castile in 1527.[127] The rationale behind the Franciscan hierarchy's actions in 1524 was to curb the public scandals and controversies sparked off by visionary behaviour, and thus shield itself from accusations of heresy and from closer investigation by the Holy Office. Other visionaries, such as the weaver of Pastrana, who were not afforded such institutional protection, were arrested by the Inquisition on suspicion of alumbradismo.

Fr.Juan de Olmillos, the Franciscan Guardian of Escalona, was a well-known figure in the towns of New Castile because of his public visions and the sermons he delivered

whilst in a state of trance. The friary of Escalona was built by the Marquis of Villena in the late 1490s and was designated a recollect in 1525.[128] Fr.Olmillos and certain other Franciscans, however, did not lead a cloistered lifestyle but were in constant contact both with the town and the palace of the Marquis of Villena. Diego López de Pacheco and Teresa Enríquez, the Marquises of Villena, were particularly devoted to the Franciscan Order and were its major patrons in their seigneurial town of Escaloma. This devotion was passed on to their children, and no fewer than four of their daughters were nuns of the Franciscan Order of the Immaculate Conception.[129] In 1527 the Marquises financed the building of a Conceptionist house in Escalona where two of their daughters were nuns.[130] In their palace in Escalona the Marquises surrounded themselves with a coterie of spiritual advisors and preachers, including Fr.Olmillos, Alcaraz and Fr.Francisco de Ocaña, the preacher from the friary. In addition, another Franciscan, Fr.Francisco de Lillo, acted as confessor to the maidservants and ladies-in-waiting of the Marquesa. Thus a close circle of recogidos, dejados and Franciscans was operating in the Escalona palace in the early 1520s. Rivalries between opposing factions in this spiritual group were

catalogued in Alcaraz's trial, and it is this source which provides information about the Franciscan's alleged plan to reform the Papacy.[131]

Letters written by Alcaraz to the Inquisition between 1524 and 1526 unfolded the nature of the Franciscans' blueprint for reform. Yet during this crucial two-year period the Franciscan hierarchy had already taken preventive action, although it was unable to prevent the revocation of the papal privilege which had guaranteed immunity from Inquisitorial arrest. In Alcaraz's first letter to Alonso Manrique, written in June 1524 in reply to the Inquisitor General's request for further information about the 'scandals' of the Escalona friars, he outlined the alleged 'errors' of Fr.Olmillos and Fr.Ocaña. The former had added some innovations to his public visionary performances in early 1524 by moving the altar from the back to the middle of the church so that more people could witness his visions.[132] Fr.Ocaña had delivered a scandalous sermon in February 1524 in the Franciscan Church in Escalona where he had called for a reformation of the Church and the removal of those already in power, who were to be 'thrown out like pigs'.[133] In another sermon he had given an erroneous interpretation of the scriptural verse which begins, 'Behold, we are going to Jerusalem...,' and had

told his audience that the people of Escalona were the most blessed in the world.[134]

In sharp contrast to Alcaraz's denunciation of the friars was the evidence given by Fr.Olmillos in December 1524.[135] The Franciscan had first met Alcaraz in Madrid three or four years previously when they had discussed 'spiritual matters'. After Alcaraz's arrival in Escalona in 1523, the Guardian became better acquainted with his doctrine. This he had found misleading, as Alcaraz taught that everyone should abandon themselves to the love of God, rather than teaching contrition and weeping for one's sins. Olmillos had rebuked Alcaraz's errors and had told him that those who had recently come to God's service should not place themselves in that elevated state of the love of God before they showed true contrition in weeping and confession of their sins.[136] Alcaraz had given Fr. Olmillos the impression that he was willing to listen to the friar's advice, and so the Guardian had not given his doctrine of dejamiento another thought. In this measured and uncontroversial testimony there appeared no trace of the exotic visionary who went into trances during Mass: nor did Fr.Olmillos oonsider Alcaraz the disseminator of heretical doctrines.

The preacher from the Escalona friary, Fr.Francisco de Ocaña, seems to have struck up some kind of friendship with Alcaraz after the latter took up employment in the household of the Marquis of Villena. Several witnesses thought that they both shared the same spiritual doctrine. This observation may have been based on the emphasis which both of them gave to the theme of the 'love of God', or simply on the fact that Alcaraz and Fr. Ocaña were often seen together.[137] A local sacristan, Alonso del Casar, however, claimed that they both shared the same doctrine. He had attended twelve or thirteen sermons given by Fr.Ocaña between 1523 and 1524, and in all of these he had preached the 'love of God':'.....he said that they should give themselves to the love of God, they did not need anything else..... and he did not say that they should keep the commandments, nor do merciful works, nor beleive in the articles of faith and the sacraments.....' In short, Fr.Ocaña had departed from the traditional themes of sermons, and this had caused scandal and ' murmurings' among many people. When he was challenged on this, the witness saw and heard him say from the pulpit:

> '...some people have murmured and complained because I do not discuss the Gospel in my sermons. I do not want to preach the epistles and Gospels and other things laid down by the Church because everything is the Gospel, and the Gospel is true, and what I say is true, and if God were to tell me that, on the contrary, what I preach is not true, then I would not believe it.....' 138

Although the sacristan beleived that Fr.Ocaña espoused the tenets of dejamiento, Alcaraz's evidence suggests that he and the preacher disagreed over certain issues. For example, when Alcaraz was defending himself against the charge that he was hostile to 'men of letters', he cited an occasion when he had argued with the friar over the value of study for preachers. Fr.Ocaña allegedly said that his Guardian,Fr.Olmillos,had told him that study was not necessary.[139] This statement is credible, given the contemporary Franciscan antipathy towards academic study. Alcaraz had also quarelled with the Franciscan preacher over the exegesis of a particular biblical passage.[140] The passage, which had been the basis of an apocalyptic sermon delivered by Fr.Ocaña in Lent 1524, was translated by the preacher as:' Behold, let us go up to Jerusalem and all things written about the Son of man will be fulfilled..' He explained that God would no longer punish or persecute them, but would treat them with love. The preacher's interpretation was

messianic and contained the Joachimist belief that the time of suffering and tribulation was over, and that a new age of Grace had arrived. To emphasise the special role accorded to the people of Escalona during this time of Grace, Fr.Ocaña swore on the crucifix and the Holy Eucharist that the people of Escalona were the most blessed in the world.[141]

The full import of this sermon was made clear in the conversation which Alcaraz had with the preacher after Mass.[142] Alcaraz had disagreed with Fr.Ocaña's interpretation of the biblical passage, saying that it referred to future events not the present. Fr.Ocaña told him that it had been revealed to him and to Fr.Olmillos that in 1524 Charles V would defeat the king of France and take over his kingdom, that there would be a reformation in the Church and the Pope would be deposed by the Marquis of Villena.[143] Nor were the Franciscans absent from this revelation: Fr.Olmillos was to play some essential but undefined role in Rome, and Fr.Ocaña himself was to be the new reforming Pope.[144] Furthermore, the Franciscans were to enlist the services of the illiterate visionary, Francisca Hernandez, from Valladolid, whose main task was to reform and revise the Holy Scriptures.[145] The sign of this impending reformation programme would be the appearance of St.Francis'

stigmata on Fr.Olmillos.[146]

Alcaraz had already complained to the Provincial, Fr. Andrés de Ecija, and to the Franciscans in Toledo,about the scandalous activities of the friars in Escalona. The response of the Franciscans in Toledo to Alcaraz's complaints was hostile: he was informed that no one had jurisdiction over the Franciscans except their superiors.[148] This latter argument probably alluded to the immunity the Franciscansstill enjoyed in Lent 1524. But the Toledan Franciscans also told Alcaraz that a pesquisa was in the process of being carried out against people known as 'alumbrados'; and it does seem that some of them were questioned in connection with Alcaraz's complaints, because they confided to him that they had defended the piety of Fr.Olmillos and some of the other alumbrados.[149] The chronology of these events in Lent 1524 is difficult to unravel. Alcaraz had been summoned to Toledo for questioning about those known as'alumbrados', 'dexados' and perfectos by a cabildo which had been set up to deal with the investigation. A member of the pesquisa, Bishop Pedro del Campo, had already visited Pastrana, where he had found nothing suspicious, and Escalona, where he had long discussions with Fr. Ocaña. In February 1524, the Toledo Inquisition had issued a warrant for Alcaraz's arrest, but he was not apprehended until April 1524.[150] In Holy Week 1524 the

Franciscan Provincial, Fr.Andrés de Ecija, came to Escalona, apparently in reponse to the allegations made by Alcaraz. On Holy Thursday he said Mass in the Franciscan Church. Alcaraz described the events which took place during Mass: '...everyone having received Communion from the Provincial, Olmillos then received communion. Then he went into his trances and began to speak to them in his usual way. The Provincial ordered the friars to stop their chant...so that he could hear what Olmillos was saying. The Provincial was moved to tears, seeing him in a trance, and hearing what he said in such a state....'[151] But in order to lessen the scandal, Fr.Ecija had the altar moved back to its former position, and told Fr.Ocaña to restrict his sermons to the palace of the Marquis of Villena.[152] After he left Escalona he went to Guadalajara and had Isabel de la Cruz stripped of her tertiary status. On 21 April 1524, the ex-tertiary and Alcaraz were arrested by the Inquisition. Fr.Ocaña later told Alcaraz that Fr.Ecija had warned him not to talk about the reformation of the Church because people might become alienated and stop giving alms to the Franciscans, the alms provided by the Archbishop of Toledo being particularly vulnerable.[153]

If the gist of Alcaraz's testimoney is correct, and

there is no reason to think it was a complete fabrication, then these events of Lent 1524 were decisive for the Franciscan Order in distancing themselves from the heresy under investigation by the Cathedral Chapter and the Holy Office.[154] Fr.Ecija's actions in Escalona, and subsequently in Guadalajara, suggest that the Franciscans had received inside information about the proceedings which were under way against the alumbrados. The Toledan Franciscans' statement to Alcaraz about their defence of Fr.Olmillos implies that this friar was under suspicion. Hence, the Provincial's Holy Week visit to Escalona to urge restraint on Fr.Olmillos and Fr.Ocaña. The allusion to the alms given by the Archbishop of Toledo is a further indication that the Franciscans had been kept informed by sympathetic members of the pesquisa. There followed further Franciscan measures of 'containment' in the form of Quiñones' condemnation of illuminism in May 1524 in San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, and Manrique's request to the Papacy in 1525 for the withdrawal of Franciscan immunity. It should also be remembered that these events took place against the background of Luther's 'reformation' in Germany, and this may well have encouraged the Inquisition to be vigilant of other friars who preached another 'reformation' in Rome.[155]

Has any other evidence survived from less biased witnesses of the alleged Franciscan reform programme? No direct evidence has survived, but the Franciscans' messianic plan to reform the Church does bear an uncanny resemblance to other contemporary prophetic programmes, which makes it difficult to dismiss it as a figment of Alcaraz's imagination. In 1519, in Guadalajara, a female visionary, who was also an acquaintance of the dejados, prophesied that a new Rome was to be built outside Guadalajara and that the new Pope was to be a local cleric.[156] In the 1520s, a Franciscan abbess from Córdoba, whose devotos included Alonso Manrique, Fr.Francisco de los Angeles Quiñones, and Fr. Francisco de Osuna, prophesied the outcome of the battle of Pavia and the imprisonment of Francis 1 of France.[157] However, it is the testimony of the visionary weaver from Pastrana which provides a more solid foundation for Alcaraz's allegations. In his often rambling evidence there appear half-remembered details of a conversation he had with the vicario of La Salceda, Fr.Cristobal de Tendilla, at some unstated time, but probably shortly before his arrest in 1524. Apparently the friar told Palomera that Luther was the Antichrist but that God would remedy things soon. This remedy was to take place before the New Year and was to be implemented by someone chosen by God, who would

receive the stigmata and who would spread peace on earth, and consquently the light of Christ would shine out in all its glory among Christians, Jews, and Moors. Fr. Cristobal told the weaver that a Fr.Juan de Olmillos from Escalona had made this prediction.[158] Was this reported conversation between Fr.Cristobal and a weaver a version of Alcaraz's more detailed allegations?

It is impossible to test the veracity of Alcaraz's charges against the Escalona Franciscans, but the existence of other contemporary messianic prophecies, which centre round the reform of the Church and the military victory of Charles V over the French king, make it difficult to dismiss Alcaraz's testimony as false. Franciscan involvement in the phenomenon of alumbradismo is surely impossible to refute. The actions taken by the hierarchy in May 1524 and the Papal revocation of 1525 are clear indications of this. Lent 1524 was a watershed for the Franciscans who preached and practised forms of illuminism; after this time the friars either distanced themselves from dejados like Alcaraz and Isabel de la Cruz, who became the scapegoats for the alumbrado movement as a whole, or retained their allegiance to dejamiento and thus risked arrest. Despite the official condemnation of dejamiento in 1524, significant sectors of the Order remained sympathetic to the dejados and continued to correspond with them

while they were awaiting trial. Certain theologians in the Toledo tribunal also adopted a lenient attitude towards the dejados. For example, the licentiate Antonio Gutiérrez Francés made a special plea for mercy on the dejados' behalf, as he believed that they had been led astray by some friars and other 'spiritual people'. In this plea, which was submitted in August 1527, Gutiérrez made no distinction between the methods of recogimiento and dejamiento:

> '.....and these prisoners were initially encouraged in this business of the love of God and of recogimiento and dejamiento of their minds and wills to God, with good zeal and intentions on the advice of some friars and spiritual people.....and the general pesquisa which was carried out into this business proves that many people who took up this recogimiento, although they had been sinful, set themselves apart from their former vices and public sins, and concentrated on good and holy exercises and works of God..... It is proven that these prisoners were placed in the said dejamiento and recogimiento by pious and religious people, who praised the works of Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz and Isabel de la Cruz as most good and perfect..... 159

This examination of recogimiento in the context of its impact on the towns of New Castile illustrates that the Holy Office considered it a threat but found it doctrinally elusive. The social characteristics of those arrested as alumbrados seem to have been an

important factor in their persecution by the Inquisition. The propagation of a spirituality which emphasised mental values rather than external actions was deemed particularly dangerous when taught by laypeople with no theological training. The fear of scandals and unlicensed public display, rather than of doctrinal aberrations, led the Franciscans to modify the more bizarre forms of recogido spirituality. Both recogimiento and dejamiento, if taken to their logical conclusion, would have rendered the traditional ceremonies and rituals of Catholicism superfluous or at best of secondary importance. During this period, which produced a myriad of spiritual groups and sects in New Castile, the local tribunal of the Inquisition found it difficult to distinguish between local gossip and organised heresy. In addition, it encountered the obstacle of the Franciscan Order, which was both the most influential Order in the area and the main propagator of illuminist doctrines. When confronted with these dilemmas, the Holy Office took refuge in the traditional solution of carefully defining the limits of lay participation and of condemning alumbradismo as a new manifestation of older heresies. In redrawing the boundaries between lay and clerical participation in spirituality, the Franciscan Order sided with the authorities for

reasons of self preservation. This partly explains the venom with which the Franciscans and other mendicants attacked the writings of Erasmus in the latter years of the 1520s.[160] The systematic persection of Erasmian sympathisers in the 1530s was another example of a new'heresy'.[161] What was thrown into question in the 1520s and 1530s in these'alumbrado' movements was the place of authority within the Church. Did authority lie with churchmen and theologians, or with the individual's ability to attain direct communication with God? In the early decades of the sixteenth century, significant sectors of the Franciscan Order seemed to favour, and indeed actively promoted, the latter view; with the arrest of the alumbrados in 1524, and against the general background of the growing threat of Lutheranism, the Franciscans modified their earlier view and sided decisively with the traditional forces of ecclesiastical authority.

CHAPTER 3.

THE MENTALITÉ OF CASTILIAN FRANCISCANISM: FRAY ALONSO DE ESPINA AND FRANCISCAN ANTI-SEMITISM.

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth century various forms of Franciscan spirituality led the friars into conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, and in addition their fifteenth-century anti-semitic campaign also provoked controversy among the ruling elite. A recent work has shown the extent to which mendicant friars played a central role in stirring up hostility against Jewish communities in medieval Europe. [1] In Castile, an analogous function was performed by the mendicants at a later date, with persecution being extended to the converso population. The composition of the monumental work entitled Fortalitium Fidei by the Franciscan friar, Fr. Alonso de Espina, which, among other things, related the alleged atrocities committed by the Jews and the conversos, placed the Franciscan Order in the vanguard of the Castilian anti-semitic movement. [2] The Fortalitium Fidei was completed in C.1461 scarcely a decade after the first attacks made on the converso population in the Toledo uprising of 1449. [3] In 1461, Espina was one of the signatories to a letter sent by the Franciscan Order in Madrid to the General of the Jeronymite Order, outlining the Franciscan plan for a new inquisition. [4] Two years later, again in Madrid, Fr. Hernando de la Plaza, Provincial Vicar of Castile, delivered an inflammatory sermon to Henry IV in which he claimed to have material proof of the

circumcision of some one hundred New Christians attached to the king's court. The outline of the 1461 Franciscan proposals for an inquisition was incorporated into a charter known as the sentencia of Medina del Campo which was submitted to Henry IV in 1464.[5] However it was not until the accession of the Catholic Monarchs, and after a fierce propaganda campaign waged by pro- and anti- Inquisition forces, that the Franciscan blueprint was put into action.[6] The pope gave his permission in 1478 for the establishment of a Holy Office whose main function was to investigate and extirpate judaizing heretics. The Franciscan Order, through the writing and sermons of Espina and other friars, thus played a crucial role both in the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition and in the dissemination of anti-semitic propaganda. An analysis of the propaganda contained in the Fortalium Fidei illustrates that Espina was far from being a lone anti-semitic voice 'crying in the wilderness', but was in fact representative of a broad band of contemporary educated and popular opinion. Details of alleged Jewish atrocities and judaizing heresies were graphically catalogued by the friar, and provide first-hand evidence of the changing social attitude towards Jews and conversos in mid-fifteenth-century Casile.

Despite Espina's prestige as a preacher, academic and theologian, surprisingly little evidence has survived of his background. The Franciscan practice of adopting the name of one's birthplace has effectively erased details of Espina's

social origins.[7] His surname suggests that he was from the Castilian locality of Espinar, but nothing is known of his upbringing, early education, or the date he entered the Franciscan Order. There is some controversy as to whether Espina was from a New Christian background: some historians have pointed out that Espina's knowledge of Hebrew and rabbinical sources was second-hand, derived from contemporary translations and the writings of conversos; others have maintained that the information on Jewish customs and observances contained in the Fortalitium Fidei bear the imprint of an 'insider's' view.[8] There is, in fact, strong circumstantial evidence in a contemporary document that Espina was indeed of Jewish descent.[9] With regard to Espina's clerical career, he belonged to the reformed wing of the Franciscan Order, known as the Observantine branch, and was a friar in the friaries of Valladolid and El Abrojo.[10] The most active phase of his career, or the one that has been best documented, appears to have been in the 1450's. In 1452, he was rector and regent of studies at Salamanca university; in the following year, he heard the last confession of the Constable of Castile, Alvaro de Luna, who was executed outside the Franciscan friary in Valladolid.[11] In 1458, he was nominated by the pope to preach the cruzada throughout Castile: between 1456-9, he undertook a series of preaching tours in Toro, Medina del Campo, Segovia, and neighbouring towns; and between 1458-61, he wrote the Fortalitium Fidei in his convent in Valladolid.[12]

Whatever Espina's career was after 1461 must remain a matter of speculation, but his active preaching phase is fairly well-documented; not only was Espina privy to the last confession of Luna, a man who had virtually ruled Castile for thirty years, but the friar had also acted as father confessor to Henry IV, was preacher of the Crusade Bull, and the ideologue of a particularly virulent form of anti-Judaism.[13] Thus, a study of Espina's anti-semitism, as reflected in the Fortalitium Fidei, is invaluable for several reasons: firstly Espina, as a mendicant and a converso, would be especially attuned to the conflicts and tensions which existed throughout a wide spectrum of Castilian society with regard to the Jewish and converso populations; secondly, his close 'spiritual' relationship with certain members of the ruling elite may have permitted him to influence certain aspects of their policy towards these communities; and thirdly, as Beinart points out, Espina's blueprint in the Fortalitium Fidei for the establishment of an inquisition 'might well be regarded as the harbinger of the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition'.[14] Hence, the attitudes and actions of Espina in the 1450s prepared both the ideological and practical groundwork for the eventual emergence of an official policy, characterised by repression and intolerance.

The text of the Fortalitium Fidei consists of five books, each of which is further subdivided into chapters known as 'considerations'.[15] The first book presents an apologia for Catholicism in which Espina exhorts all true Christians to

take up arms in defence of their faith. The remaining four books deal extensively with the principal enemies of the Catholic faith - the Jews, Moors, heretics, and demons. Quantitatively, more folio space is devoted to diatribes against Jews and heretics, which is a useful indicator of Espina's perception of their relative threat to Christianity. Why should this be the case? By the fifteenth century there was an established literary tradition which depicted the Jews as the most dangerous threat to the Catholic faith.[16] The title of Espina's work, the Fortalitium Fidei, echoed the thirteenth-century work by the Barcelona Dominican, Raymond Martini, entitled Pugio Fidei. There is evidence in the Fortalitium Fidei that Espina was influenced by the latter text and also by the Quodlibetum of Nicholas de Lyra, a thirteenth-century Franciscan friar. Martini believed that the Jews were the worst enemies of the Christians, and the task of converting them was more urgent than that of their Muslim counterparts. The danger the Jews posed, according to Martini, lay in their familiarity with Christians: 'For according to the opinion of Seneca, there is no enemy more capable of inflicting injury than a familiar one, and there is no enemy of the Christian faith more familiar and more unavoidable for us than the Jews'.[17] This was a theme very much echoed by Espina who, in the opening paragraph of the chapters concerning the Jews, referred to them as 'familiar enemies'.[18] However, Espina's catalogue of Jewish misdeeds owes more to the work of his fellow Franciscan, Nicholas de Lyra, whose Quodlibetum similarly dwelt on the history of

Jewish crimes. The argument that the greatest threat of the Christian faith was posed by those who were most familiar with its beliefs and œremonies, such as the Jewish population, could be applied with greater force to Christian heretical groups. Although Espina does devote a section of the Fortalitium Fidei to denouncing the heresies of his time, he nonetheless gives a disproportionate emphasis to the alleged errors of judaizers, that is judaizing conversos.[19] Espina's denunciation of the Jews as the most dangerous enemies of Christianity was thus derived from a mendicant literary tradition, whereas his attacks on conversos were of more recent orogin, reflecting contemporary tension in Castilian society.

The Fortalitium Fidei contains a wealth of scriptural, patristic and literary quotations, as well as contemporary observations.[20] Espina's training as a preacher and theologian is evident in the methodology and techniques he employs; propositions which Espina envisages Jews or heretics putting forward are set up and demolished, using the simple device of quoting from an encyclopedic array of scriptual and devotional sources. A cursory glance at these 'arguments' suggests that Espina imagined himself taking part in public disputations with Jews and heretics. The friar used a variety of techniques to emphasise or reinforce a particular argument, which were used to particularly good effect in his contemporary anecdotes. For example, the account of a gruesome blood libel story was generally prefixed by the acknowledgement of his source;

these are sometimes named personnages or are referred to rather more anonymously as 'persons worthy of credence'. Moreover, in certain instances Espina claimed that he was present in person. Not only did Espina use hearsay, eyewitness accounts, and personal experience to lend credence to his anecdotes, but he also made them chronologically and geographically specific. Another technique Espina used to add realism to his narrative was his references to alleged written evidence; evidence written down and signed by notaries seemed to confirm in his own mind the veracity of his anecdotes.

Several manuscripts and printed editions have survived of the Fortalitium Fidei dating from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.[21] In addition, the similarity between the procedures adopted by the Inquisition in the late 1470s with regard to the judaizing conversos and those contained in the Fortalitium Fidei suggests that the friar's work was reasonably well known in educated circles.[22] What kind of audience did Espina have in mind for this apologia? The first point to note is that the text was composed in Latin, with only the occasional word or phrase inserted in the vernacular. Therefore, one can rule out the possibility that the tract was a 'protest work' of the same genre as the contemporary Coplas de Mingo Revulgo and Coplas del Provincial.[23] A Latin rendition is of necessity addressed to a Latinist Audience. This would limit its diffusion to educated nobles and prelates, in other words to the 'political establishment' of mid-fifteenth-century Castile. However, despite its exclusive 'catchment

area', the language and imagery used in the Fortalitium Fidei were scarcely erudite but owed more to Espina's function as mendicant demagogue. Is the date of composition significant in assessing the type of audience Espina envisaged for his treatise? Internal textual evidence reveals that Espina was writing between 1458-61.[24] At this time Castile was experiencing an acute crisis of monarchical authority which had its roots in the reign of John II. One of the byproducts of this social and political crisis was the 1449 massacre of the Toledo converos.[25] The subsequent prohibition of conversos from holding public office in Toledo had led to an ideological rift in monarchical and papal circles. Although John II and Pope Nicholas V refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of this prohibition, known as the sentencia-estatuto, political factors prevented them from taking effective action.[26] The ensuing ideological rift between the pro- and anti- converso camps, those whom Beinart terms the 'liberals' and 'radicals', had produced a bewildering constellation of political forces whose allegiances owed more to political aggrandizement than ideological principle.[27] With regard to the noble factions which continued to challenge monarchical authority throughout the 1450s, the 'converso problem' constituted a further complicating factor. It was here, among the nobility, that ideological partisanship was difficult to disentangle, especially as many of the main actors were themselves of converso origin.[28] One could argue, however, that it was among the ecclesiastical hierarchy that the ideological chasm reached its purest expression. The 1449 massacre spawned a

series of polemics from both sides, and in this context one can view the Fortalitium Fidei as a significant contribution to the 'radical' faction.[29] Another factor which suggests that Espina's treatise formed part of the converso debate was the role the friar played in 1461 in drafting an open letter to the General of the Jeronymite Order.[30] Although the letter bore the signatures of several Franciscans, the language and tenor of the letter were similar to Espina's harangues in the Fortalitium Fidei. In the 1461 letter, the extent of the heretical and infidel threat is sketched out:-

> 'In our days and realms we have seen the heathen augment, and many heretics, hostile to the faith of Jesus Christ, destroying and subverting not just some things but everything..'[31]

The divisions and polarities which have beset Castile are also emphasised :-

> 'And also we see that because of this division which affects all the kingdom, and all the main places of it, all the people are divided into two bandos, the good and the bad, and each side is prepared for much evil'.

Finally, the establishment of an Inquisition is proposed in order to separate 'good' from 'bad' Christians:-

> '... so that the good Christians may be known and separated from the bad ones, and so that they can live safely and in peace ... and so that we know who is for us or against us, publicly or secretly, so that we can have some idea of who and how many are against us'.

If one contrasts this with Espina's chapter on the conditions of Jews in mid-fifteenth Castile, the similarity of the sentiments is striking :-

> '... plurima mala oriunt in popolo principue in fide et moribus cum multi christiani facti sunt iudei vel melior dicant erant occulti iudei et facti sunt publici. Alii sunt saraceni facti. Alii uterunt circumcisione. Alii cerimonias iudaicas observant impune. Ex his tyranica Rabies continue crescit in regno astutis et consiliis iudeos que ad hoc et silia invenienda inter ceteros homines presumpti sunt'. [32]

On balance, therefore, Beinart's assessment of the motives behind the Fortalitium Fidei, and the kind of readership Espina had in mind, appears to be confirmed, both by internal textual evidence and Espina's appearance as co-signatory in the 1461 letter to the Jeronymites. Beinart points out: 'It (the Fortalitium Fidei) was apparently intended first and foremost to alert public opinion in influential Court and ecclesiastical circles to an awareness of the urgency of the converso issue , and to demonstrate its gravity.' [33] One final observation on the techniques employed by Espina to ensure maximum impact on his readership concerns the frequency with which he alluded to the pro-Jewish and pro-converso sympathies of nobles and prelates. The cataloguing of Jewish atrocities was prefixed or appended with the statement that courtiers and prelates, those for whom his text was intended, were themselves amongst the staunchest supporters of the Jews. [34] This was a particularly clever device in ensuring that the message contained in the Fortalitium Fidei would have greatest effect

on Espina's audience.

As mentioned above, Espina's two main targets in the Fortalitium Fidei were Jews and heretics. Let us consider the example of the Jews in the first instance.[35] There are several methodological problems involved in assessing the state of Castilian Jewry at this time. For example, should legal discrimination be used as a 'measure' of the oppression of the Jewish community? After all the chronological lag between legal theory and practical enforcement of the law is one which is well known to historians. Another problem is how to interpret the limited information given in extant tax lists in order to chart the demographic increase or decline of Jewish communities. For example, the repartimiento of 1474 simply showed the amount of tax revenue the king was entitled to receive from a particular Jewish aljama.[36] The number of Jewish vacinos is unrecorded. Therefore, the information can be interpreted in a number of ways. For example, either the aljama housed a large number of poor Jews, or a small number of wealthy Jews, or something in between these two poles.

From the legal point of view, it could be argued that the position of the Jews in the mid-fifteenth century had improved since the pogroms of 1391. In the early fifteenth century two ordinances had been drafted by the Queen-Regent Catherine and the anti-Pope Benedict XIII to debar the Jews from certain occupations and from commercial intercourse with Christians.[37] After the 1391 pogroms, conversos continued in the same careers

as they had as Jews, and also found a wider choice of job opportunities open to them. Therefore, these particular ordinances can be seen as an attempt to protect the economic and business interests of the conversos at the expense of the Jews. Although these ordinances largely remained theoretical restrictions, there is evidence that by the 1440s certain towns were attempting to prohibit all commerce between Jews and Christians. It was in this context that John II issued his Pragmática de Arevalo which forbade the extension of existing Jewish and Moorish legal restrictions.[38] In this way the king hoped to put a brake on the increasing isolation of Jewish and Moorish communities from Christian economic life. However, this proved ineffective in preventing the drift of Jewish communities away from the large royal towns to smaller 'country' towns, or to ecclesiastical or lay lordships. The cortes of Toledo in 1462 drew attention to this phenomenon which was leading to the rapid depopulation of the aljamas realengas.[39]

Within this framework of a gradual drift of the Jewish communities towards noble landholdings, the repartimiento figures of 1474 illustrate that the wealthiest or largest Jewish communities were situated in Segovia, Avila, and Ocaña.[40] Despite legal restrictions, contemporary documents show that Jews continued to be employed as royal fiscal officers such as arrendadores of the sales tax.[41] Household accounts dating from the reigns of John II and Henry IV also reveal that Jews continued to be employed as royal physicians, surgeons and

apothecaries.[42] According to evidence in the Fortalitium Fidei, this trend of employing Jews as physicians and financiers was alo well established among the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchy.[43] Therefore, the general impression of the state of Castilian Jewry at the time of Espina can be summed up in this way: despite the appalling massacres of 1391, and subsequent legislative attempts to restrict Jewish occupations and lifestyles, certain sectors of the Jewish community continued to prosper. There was a general drift of Jewish population away from the large urban centres towards small towns under noble jurisdiction, where the Jews were permitted a greater degree of commercial freedom. Royalty, nobility, and ecclesiastical dignitaries continued to employ Jews as physicians, financiers, and tax collectors. This scenario should now be contrasted with the image of the Jews which emerged from the pen of Espina.

Espina's fundamental antipathy towards the Jews can be gleaned from the number of chapters he devoted to describing their cruelties.[44] He reiterated some seventeen examples of these cruelties both past and present, and quoted with approval the decisions taken by the kings of England and France to expel their Jewish communities.[45] He also cited cases of Jewish cruelty in Italy and the Holy Roman Empire; this latter example, which involved the killing of Christian children in Vienna in 1420, was reported to Espina by an eye-witness who claimed to have seen three hundred Jews executed for the crime.[46] In Castile, the geographic range of Jewish

crimes was located within a specific radius of Valladolid, where Espina was an inmate in the Franciscan convent. Although two Jewish blood libel cases were purportedly perpetrated in Italy, the fact that they were recounted to Espina in his convent, and publicised among the Valladolid population, has led me to include them in the Castilian nexus of 'Jewish atrocities'. Castilian towns mentioned in reference to cases of ritual murder and poisoning were Almazán, Toro, Zamora, Segovia, Tavara, and Palencia. The specific area of these crimes is linked to the 'authors' of the blood libel anecdotes, and also reflects the geographic region where Espina undertook his preaching tours.

The Fortalitium Fidei contains the accounts of five blood libel accusations made against the Jews in the 1450s which were either situated in Castile or were reported and publicised there.[47] Although numerically insignificant, the fabrication of these cases marked a radical new departure in Castilian terms. As Baron pointed out with reference to blood libel cases: 'In Spain, where, despite the allusions in the Siete Partidas, few accusations had achieved any notoriety, the alleged murder for magical purposes of the 'niño' (little boy) of La Guardia became a cause célèbre in 1490-1.[48] The timing of the latter trial was crucial as it served the function of precipitating the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, as well as providing a justification for this act. Generally, historians have interpreted blood libel accusations as symptoms rather than as causes of anti-Jewish hostility, a hostility which tended to

surface in response to a specific crisis. Why this antipathy should assume the form of blood libel accusations is less easily explicable. Although these accusations appear manifestly absurd to modern, rationalist eyes, they were regarded as both credible and possible by medieval Christians. One can see many analogies between these blood libels and contemporary beliefs about heretics and witches in which a fantastic assortment of magical powers and bizarre ceremonies were projected on to these two groups. Therefore, blood libel accusations, like witch beliefs, must be seen as part of an underlying belief-pattern, with their own internal coherence and rationale. Accusations of ritual murder or witchcraft tended to be triggered off by an economic, political, or religious crisis - a crisis which seemed to invert the normal belief-pattern, highlighting the malevolent aspects of human existence. With regard to this obsession with bizarre ceremonies and beliefs, Turner has remarked in another context on how frequently the various brands of religion develop at times of crisis an 'apocalyptic mythology, theology, or ideology... characterised by exotic imagery'. [49] What is interesting in these inverted or distorted belief-patterns is the typology of the victim; the victim, whether witch, heretic or Jew, was rarely selected at random but possessed specific social characteristics. [50] In the case of blood libel accusations, the Jew is imagined as murderer, magician and cannibal. Moreover, this image of the Jew did not remain fixed but was also subject to changes and accretions over time and space. Thus, for example, the manner of the child's execution or the uses made of the corpse underwent regional and calendrical variations.

In all these ritual murder cases, however, the fundamentals remained unaltered. The blood libel anecdotes, as reported by Espina, should be viewed as part of this two-step process. Firstly, one can analyse the fundamentals or those ingredients which Castilian blood libels shared with their European counterparts. Secondly, an examination of the additional components should highlight the peculiarly Castilian aspects of the accusations. What is also interesting in these Castilian cases, and a point I shall touch on next, is the type of person who reported these cases to Espina, and the type of Jew who was likely to be implicated.

What is striking about these blood libels is that Espina did not receive his information from the populace, from 'below' as it were, but from ecclesiastical dignitaries. Espina received reports of heretical and Jewish misdeeds from no fewer than three bishops: the bishops of Lugo, Salamanca and Palencia.[51] The role of these bishops was not restricted to pastoral duties but extended to political affairs. Both García de Vaamonde, Bishop of Lugo, and Pedro de Castilla, Bishop of Palencia, were present in Valladolid in 1454 for the offical acclamation of Henry IV as king of Castile.[52] Moreover, both Vaamonde and Gonzalvo de Vivero, Bishop of Salamanca, served as judges of the audiencia in the 1460s.[53] The geographical location of the blood libel cases reflected the boundaries of the Bishops' diocesan jurisdiction. The role played by these bishops in publicising blood libel cases must be emphasised for two reasons. Firstly, the fact the Espina felt confident

enough to record their names suggests that they were representatives of an anti-Jewish school of thought rather than isolated individuals. From this one can deduce that there was some degree of ideological solidarity between those members of the eccesiastical hierarchy empowered to deal with 'matters relating to the faith' and the mendicant friars, as represented by Espina and other Franciscans. Secondly, those bishops within Espina's preaching sphere of influence whose names are not cited in the Fortalitium Fidei are significant in building up a picture of those members of the episcopal hierarchy who presumably did not support Espina's brand of anti-semitism. Among these were the bishops of Segovia, Zamora, and Burgos.[54] Two bishops had played an important part in the polemic inspired by the 1499 attack on the Toledo conversos.[55] Both Fr. Lope de Barrientos, Bishop of Cuenca, and Alonso de Cartagena, Bishop of Burgos, had come out decisively in support of the conversos. Barrientos was one of the few Old Christians to adopt this stance. Alonso de Cartagena, grandson of Pablo de Santa María, ex-rabbi and also Bishop of Burgos, naturally defended his own right, as a converso, to hold an important ecclesiastical post. Evidence from other sources suggests that Cartagena might have been hostile to Alvaro de Luna, whose last hours, incidentally, were spent with Espina.[56] In the Fortalitium Fidei Espina cited with approval the works of Pablo de Santa María, but made no reference to the more contemporary writings of the latter's grandson.[57] From this one can infer that Espina did not support the views expressed in Cartagena's Defensorium Unitatis Christianae (Tratado en favor de los judíos conversos).[58] The

absence of any references to the Bishop of Zamora, Juan de Mella, brother of the Franciscan heretic, Fr.Alonso de Mella, is explained by the Bishop's absence from Castile at the Roman curia, where he received the cardinal's hat in 1456 from pope Calixtus III.[59] Therefore, evidence contained in the Fortalitium Fidei indicates that particular bishops, rather than the episcopacy as a whole, in an area of Old Castile with significant Jewish communites, were involved in stirring up anti- Jewish feeling by their personal endorsement of blood libel accusations.

Another distinctive pattern which emerges from a study of Castilian blood libel cases is that the perpetrators were drawn from the Jewish aristocracy rather than from lower down the social scale. In occupational terms, the Jewish murderer was likely to be a physician. One could argue that there was a certain logic in identifying a child murderer or poisoner with this particular occupation. Also the empirical observation that the Jewish community tended to produce the best physicians led to the close identification of physician with Jew. Espina referred to the contemporary tradition among the Castilian nobility of employing Jewish 'devils' as physicians :-

> 'And the temporal lords themselves, who try to please the lordly prelates of the church have so much confidence in them that you will hardly find one lord who does not have next to him in his household a devil of a Jewish doctor, and they praise them so much that they say that the Christian doctors do not know anything about them'. [60]

Jewish physicians were not merely medical practitioners, but combined medicine with fiscal, administrative, and rabbinical duties.[61] As such, they were not only the most prestigious members of the Jewish community, but also embodied in their persons the sum total of Christian economic, religious and political grievances against the Jews. In the context of mid-fifteenth-century Castile, the selection of the Jewish physician as the mastermind of ritual murders is of particular interest. The fact that both John II and Henry IV continued to employ Jewish physicians did not deter Espina, and the Bishops of Lugo and Salamanca, from denouncing them in their gruesome anecdotes, which by implication condemned the Jewish medical profession as a whole.[62] In fact Espina went as far as to accuse the Jewish physician of the Admiral of Castile of plotting to poison a Christian hidalgo.[63] The selection of high-ranking Jews as the main actors in the blood libel dramas contained in the Fortalitium Fidei seems to have been a deliberate ploy on Espina's part. One the one hand, it fuelled popular prejudices about Jewish medical expertise; on the other hand, it advocated the removal of Jewish physicians from royal and noble households.

Let us consider the role the physician played in the ritual murder of Christian children, the details of the murder ritual, and the uses made of the victim's blood. In his preamble to Castilian examples of blood libel, Espina recounted two Italian cases of ritual murder which he had heard from a Genoese converso in Valladolid.[64] In 1456, a Genoese

Jew named Emmanuel had come to the Franciscan convent in Valladolid to seek an audience with Espina. He was the son of a respected physician, Maestro Salomón, who was resident in the Italian city of Ancona. Emmanuel had sought out Espina as he had come to recognise the errors of the Jewish faith, and wished to receive Christian baptism. Among other things, he agreed to reveal to Espina details of how the Jews were induced to kill Christian children. The first anecdote he recounted to Espina was based on hearsay; the second he himself had 'experienced personally'. In the first case, his Jewish relatives had told him of the murder committed by Maestro Simon of Ancona, a physician who was apparently well known in Italian noble households. This physician had struck up a friendship with an evil Christian, called Sa Comano, who had captured a young Christian boy for use as his domestic servant. However, as the boy was too young for heavy labour, Sa Comano had decided to give the boy to the Jewish physician. The Jew took the boy to his home in Pavia, laid him on the table, and cut his head off with his sword. Leaving the child's head on the table, he removed the corpse to a secret chamber in order to carry out some malevolent ceremony. Meanwhile, a large dog had entered the Jew's house, seized the child's head in his mouth, and escaped through an open window. When the Jew discovered that the child's head had disappeared, he had taken fright and sought refuge in Sa Comano's house. From here he managed to get aboard a ship and escape to 'the Turks'. The local justice fortuitously discovered the crime after spotting the dog, with the child's head still in his mouth.

By following the trail of blood, the scene of the crime was traced to the Jew's house, where the child's corpse was discovered. According to the Genoese, this atrocity was well known all over Italy.

The second anecdote was recounted by Emmanuel in the first person singular. His father, the physician Maestro Salomón, took him to a house in Savona where seven or eight Jews had secretly assembled. A two year old Christian boy was brought into the room along with a vessel of the type usually used for the blood of a circumcised child. The naked child was held above this vessel while four of the Jews attempted to hold him in a certain position. One held his right arm, the second his left arm, and the third held the boy's head in a raised position, in this way stretching his body in the form of a crucifix. The fourth Jew gave the boy some 'stupefying smoke', stuck some pointed irons into the boy's side and stomach, and pierced his entrails. The child's bood was then collected in the vessel placed underneath. At this point Emmanuel left the room, unable to watch any more. His father followed him and informed him that he was to reveal nothing of this ritual. Emmanuel returned to the room and witnessed the other Jews throwing the child's corpse into a deep latrine. Then a 'horrible confection' was made by mixing the child's blood with assorted fruits, such as apples, pears, nuts and hazelnuts. All those present, Emmanuel included, drank this ghastly potion.[66]

These two anecdotes are typical of the numerous blood libel cases which circulated in the Middle Ages. The Jews either acted individually or as a group in seizing and murdering a young Christian boy. The child is invariably decapitated or mutilated in some way, and his blood is used as a potion. The role assigned to the dog, who unconsciously alerts the Christian population to the existence of the crime, was another recurring motif. The precise details recorded in these blood libel accusations provide an invaluable illustration of the mentality behind this anti-Jewish propaganda. Although these incidents had allegedly taken place in 1452, Espina was able to recall them in such detail because he claimed that the facts had been recorded in documents lodged in the Franciscan convent in Valladolid.[67] These accusations, moreover, were delivered in 1456 to an audience of prominent lay and ecclesiastical personages, some of whose names were recorded.[68] These included: García de Vaamonde, Bishop of Lugo, Pedro Vásquez, deacon of Compostela cathedral, and Pedro Martínez de Guetaria, public notary of the king's audiencia and secretary to the Bishop of Lugo. It seems likely that these accusations were publicised throughout Valladolid, as Emmanuel was baptised Francisco in the Valladolid church of St. James, with the Bishop of Lugo acting as godfather.

Another blood libel accusation was broadcast in Valladolid in 1454 while Espina was engaged in preaching a series of sermons on the name of Jesus.[69] Documentary 'proof' of this particular

crime, which took place in the lands of Luis de Almazán, was provided by García de Vaamonde, Bishop of Lugo, and Rodrigo Diego de Mendoza, an hidalgo. This particular 'murder case' contained detailed information on how the King had prevented the local lord from administering justice to the guilty Jews, and how Espina was driven to deliver an impassioned sermon against Judaism in the church of St. Nicholas in Valladolid. Espina also recorded the impact his serman made on the conversos and Jews who were present in church. For these reasons, the Almazán case deserves closer study.

The general outline of the Almazán ritual murder was commonplace. Two Jews seized a young Christian child, killed him, and removed his heart. His body was buried in a shallow grave, which was fortuitously discovered by some dogs. Some local shepherds spotted one of the dogs with the child's arm in its mouth. In the meantime, the Jews had returned home and convoked a secret assembly. At this meeting the child's heart was burnt, the ashes were mixed with wine, and the resulting concoction was drunk by the assembled Jews. This far, there is nothing remarkable about the fundamentals of this particlar ritual murder. However, what is noteworthy are the additional components or accretions, which seem to echo Espina's own political criticisms and value judgements. Espina's description of the procedures used to try 'the guilty Jews' reveals the limited jurisdictional rights of the local lord when confronted with the legal weight of the King's decrees. After Luis de Almazán had carried out an enquiry (or

'inquisition'), certain Jews were arrested, one of whom had red hair and a red beard. Espina claimed to have seen this man with his own eyes.[70] Obviously, the man's colouring was unusual enough to warrant such observation. But other members of the Jewish community had gone to the king, from whom they obtained letters ordering the lord to proceed no further.[71] Luis de Almazán wrote of this prohibition in a letter addressed to the Bishop of Lugo, which Espina claimed to have read and to have in his possession at the time of writing the Fortalitium Fidei. The bishop of Lugo had himself witnessed the enquiry carried out by Luis de Almazán, and verified the details of the case. Apparently, the king had asked the lord to proceed no further out of honour to the Christian faith, and because he was a principal in the king's council. The reaction of Espina to this alleged atrocity was to preach a sermon in the church of St. Nicholas, where, he claimed, the whole town had assembled processionally; included in the audience were conversos and Jews.[72] Espina's sermon caused great displeasure to the Jews and their converso sympathisers. As a result of this sermon, and, according to Espina, through the influence of the conversos who at that time formed a majority in the king's chancellery, the red-haired Jew was brought to Valladolid and detained in the public prison.[73] Three commissioners were appointed to investigate the case, two of whom were conversos. In Espina's estimation, these latter two had vacillated and delayed so long over the case that, at the time Espina was writing, justice had still not been carried out.

There are two interesting points to note in the Almazán ritual murder case. Firstly, the lord's right to administer justice in his own territory was allegedly overruled by royal letters Secondly, the conversos were depicted as collaborators with their ex-correligionists - by objecting to the tenor of Espina's sermon in Valladolid, and by the failure of the converso commissioners to take any action against the imprisoned Jew. These two elements are significant insofar as they reflected the contemporary opinion among certain sectors of the population that the king was failing to administer justice, and that the conversos were in close alliance with the Jews. This belief was one which was gradually extended in the period before the expulsion of the Jews. It was a short step from implying that conversos covered up Jewish blood libel accusations to alleging that conversos were personally involved in these atrocities. This after all was the charge in the notorious case of the Holy Child of La Guardia in 1490-1.[74] Therefore, Espina's message in his sermon delivered in Valladolid in 1454 would not only alienate converso and Jewish opinion, but would also appeal to the anti-semitic sentiments of the populace, and to aristorcratic 'malcontents' whose jurisdiction was being undermined by the king.

In the two blood libel cases set in Toro in 1457, Espina followed the same format as in the Almazán incident.[75] His 'authors' in this instance were Gonzalvo de Vivero, Bishop of Salamanca, and a 'simple man' from Toro, whose son was the victim of an attempted murder by the Jews. In neither of these

two cases did the child lose his life: one boy had a piece of flesh cut out of his leg, the other's life was saved by some local vineyard workers. In both instances, the Jews escaped justice, either by fleeing to Zamora, or by the failure of the local officials to take the necessary action. The 'simple' Toro man had produced a written account of his child's kidnapping for Espina, which he intended to lodge with the king's council. Once more, Espina's allusion to written documentation was used to substantiate the 'veracity' of his anecdotes.

Not only did Espina condemn Jewish physicians as child murderers, but he also denounced them as poisoners - another traditional motif in anti-Jewish propaganda. In general, historians have linked these accusations of Jews as poisoners to periodic outbreaks of plague in different parts of Europe.[76] This particular accusation could also have a political dimension if, for example, a king or prince were to die in unusual circumstances. In the example quoted by Espina, the poisoning plan was formulated by a Christian who had purchased poison from a Jewish physician. This Christian was a nobleman called Juan de Vega, and the Jew was the physican of the Admiral of Castile. Espina does not provide a date for this episode, but incidental references in the text suggest that it was allegedly of recent origin.[78] The attempted poisoning supposedly took place in Palencia, where Juan de Vega conspired to cheat his brother out of his inheritance. The 'plot' was discovered when an escudero poured wine into a silver goblet, whereupon it immediately turned a horrible colour. The

punishment meted out to the two guilty parties was rather uneven. The Christian noble was forced to renounce his inheritance and to become a monk in the monastery of St. Benedict in Valladolid. The Jewish physician was arrested, confessed under torture to having committed several other crimes and finally committed suicide by poisoning himself.

The Jews were also vilified by Espina in their capacity as moneylenders.[79] He quoted the example of a Jew from Zamora who had received 60.000 of an unspecified currency in return for a loan of 10.000. In the friar's opinion, this evil was widespread in Castile, with Jewish moneylenders not only extorting large amounts of money from humble farmlabourers but also from hidalgos and escuderos. These usurious loans were contracted from generation to generation, and had enslaved people from all social ranks. From this statement one can surmise that it was perhaps normal practice for agricultural workers and small-scale farmers to receive credit loans from Jewish moneylenders, but that the financial ensnaring of the lesser nobility was allegedly a new development.

The methods employed by Espina in unfolding the multifarious layers of 'Jewish evil' were both direct and effective. In narrating Jewish 'crimes' he adopted a chronological and regional approach, beginning with the murder of a Christian boy in England and linking it with the subsequent expulsion of the English Jews. Similar tales were related for France, Germany and Italy. It is interesting that he chose the figure

of the Genoese converso, Emmanuel, as the principal mouthpiece of his Italian anecdote. What could be moreeffective than to use one of the Jews' ex-correligionists as their main denouncer? By informing the reader that Emmanuel was baptised in St. Nicholas' church in Valladolid, the Genoese converso was invested with the correct religious credentials. The choice of Valladolid was also significant. At that time it was one of the major towns of Castile, housing the king's chancellery and, periodically, the peripatetic royal court. It also prepared the reader psychologically for the narration of the blood libel cases which purportedly took place on Castilian soil. Although none of the 'crimes' were carried out in Valladolid, they were reported and publicised there by Espina and his episcopal informants. One possible motive for selecting Valladolid for this exercise are the frequent references to Christian litigation. The emphasis on written and notarial documents, and allusions of lodging a 'quarrel' with the king, all imply that these cases were being heard in the audiencia which was based in Valladolid. Certainly, the anecdote of the red-haired Jew suggested that his case had allegedly been referred to a higher judicial court. Espina's role in this particular case was to stir up public opinion not only against the Jews, but also against those functionaries who were depicted as failing to administer justice. Furthermore, Espina pointed out that the majority of these functionaries were conversos, and therefore sympathetic towards the Jewish defendant. In this context, Espina's catalogue of Jewish 'crimes' can be interpreted as a particularly forceful

type of political propaganda. Not only were the Jews vilified as child murderers, but the loyalty of the converso officials of the royal council and audiencia was also open to question. Finally, the secular and ecclesiastical hierarchy was also accused of colluding with the Jews by employing them in their households. Therefore, the ruling elite of Henry IV's Castile became the target of Espina's diatribes. In this way, through his Jewish blood libel tales, Espina became the mouthpiece of the political, social and religious discontents of the populace.

Is it possible to undertake a structural analysis of these blood libel cases? Would such an exercise highlight the taboos of medieval Christian society? As mentioned above, although individual details of these murder accusations are subject to certain variations, the fundamental structure remains constant. The variations, or extraneous elements, tended to reflect contemporary social or political discontents, but the fundamentals consisted of a broadly similar combination of individual components. These components were : murderous Jews; young Christian boys; a secret ritual or ceremony involving mutilation or attemped mutilation; the manufacture of a potion containing a heart, blood, and other miscellaneous items. The archetypal accusation obviously reflected the distorted image of the Jew manufactured by anti-semitic Christians. But unfortunately the surviving evidence is not detailed enough - for example, nothing is known of the chronology of the alleged crime. In other, better-documented,

cases the child is often murdered just before Easter as a parody of Christ's crucifixion.[80] What the Jews were imagined to have done with the child's blood and other parts of his body is also left vague. The most detailed description of this particular stage in the blood libel ceremony emanated from an 'inside' source, from Francisco, the Genoese converso.[81] He claimed that the Jews consumed a revolting concoction of blood, nuts and fruit.

The victims were young Christian boys, there being only one documented example of a young female Christian victim. This 'choice' might be explained in various ways. Firstly, a female victim would give the crime sexual overtones, which would perhaps be an unnecessary complication in this context. Secondly, the choice perhaps reflected the fact that young boys were not so carefully supervised, and therefore were more likely to be wandering around the town and countryside on their own. Finally, and crucially, the elements of inversion evident in the mock crucifixion made the choice of a male victim more appropriate.

The age range of the victim, between two and seven years old, accords with contemporary definitions of the 'age of reason'. Below a certain age, children were not considered mature enough spiritually to receive the sacraments of penance and the Holy Eucharist.[82] Instead, they were endowed with the qualities of innocence and purity. Therefore, the selection of a victim who was both physically and mentally vulnerable

would make the Jews' crime even more heinous in Christian eyes.

A Jewish man was usually depicted as the instigator of the crime, in particular one whose occupation made him suspect in Christian eyes - for example, a physician. The crime often involved a secret assembly of several Jews, and the implication of a communal and 'devilish' ceremony, The method of mutilation was often described in gruesome detail: the child was stripped naked and placed on top of a table; he was either decapitated, with his body being used for undisclosed purposes, or specific parts of his body were mutilated and dissected. It would appear that the main purpose of this mutilation was to secure a certain quantity of blood for a secret ritual. Historians have offered a wide variety of explanations for the blood/mutilation theme in blood libel accusation.[83] Some have suggested that the Christians believed that the Jews needed Christian blood for their religious rituals - to add to unleavened bread at Passover, or as a balm for the circumcision wound.

The most striking analogies, however, are surely those between these ritual murders, with their emphasis on blood, multilation and cannibalism, and Christ's sacrifice on the Cross and the concomitant Christian doctrine of transubstantiation. Contemporary popular beliefs about the properties of the Eucharistic Host were essentially materialist, with the Host being conveived of as the physical equivalent of a piece of flesh. Indeed, in other parts of Europe there were waves of alleged

Host desecration atrocities in which the Jews were accused of stabbing the Host, and making it bleed.[84] The acquisition of Christian blood, and the appearance of wine as an ingredient in the blood ritual, hint at a parody of the Christian ceremony of consecrating the Eucharistic bread and wine. Parody and inversion rituals in popular culture and customs, as historians of popular culture have pointed out, can serve a variety of functions, ranging from those which served as a 'safety valve' to those whose function was didactic or overtly political. In the case of blood libel accusations, this appears to be an attempt made by Christians to come to terms with their own ambivalent feelings towards the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, which they were obliged to partake of at least once a year, usually at Easter - that is, at the same time as the Jews were accused of murdering young Christian boys, and mutilating their flesh and drinking their blood. However, these blood libel tales also served a didactic function. By condemning the Jews for their parody of Christ's crucifixion, and for their desecration of the Host ('making it bleed'), the essential truth of the doctrine of transubstantiation was revealed. Thus while Christian 'cannibalism' was justified, Jewish 'cannibalism' served both to authenicate the mystery of transubstantiation and to condemn the Jews themselves.

The fortunate appearance of dogs to disinter parts of the victims' corpse is a rather unexpected element in these tales. Rather than assume that the dog had killed the child,the Christians

instead equated the presence of an arm or leg in a dog's mouth with ritual child murder by local Jews. Presumably the role of the dog was to uncover what had been a secret crime - a more heinous crime than a public act of violence - and thus alert the local Christian population.

Another feature about the recurring aspects of these accusations concerns the social types who discover the crime. Shepherds and vineyard workers discovered that a murder or attempted murder had taken place. Although this is not surprising, given the geographical location of the 'crimes', the choice of these particular social types seems to have been deliberate. The shepherd makes a frequent appearance in medieval 'religious landscapes', either as the witness to an apparition or vision, or as the excavator of a long-lost holy statue.[85] Shrines, hermitages, and oratories were often built on these sanctified spots, and local cults developed from these pastoral legends. The shepherd or agriculture worker, therefore, was possibly serving a similar function in the blood libels which can be seen as being analogous to pastoral miracles.

This survey of the individual elements of the blood libels reveals Christian anxieties and fears about the Jews. The ambivalent status of the Jews is reflected in those elements which refer to Jewish medical and apothecarial skills. The selection of a victim who is young, innocent and Christian, seems to be as a deliberate counterweight to the perpetrators, who are adult, evil and Jewish. Fears of mutilation

and cannibalism are incorporated into these legends, with detailed descriptions provided of limbs being cut up, and entrails and heart pierced with sharp instruments. The role of redeemer or rescuer is accorded to anonymous groups of agricultural workers and shepherds, symbols of innocent and decent Christian values. The insertion of extraneous details into these legends provided Espina with the opportunity of voicing criticisms of a religious and political nature. His most frequent criticism concerned the excercise, or rather the non-exercise, of justice by the appropriate authorities.

The idea that Jews indulged in secret rituals involving the use of Christian boys was developed further by Espina in his diatribe against the Jews of his own day. Here, the contagious nature of Jewish evil was made manifest in a passage where he evoked the apocalyptic images of the Great Flood and the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. After quoting the 1412 'Laws of Valladolid', a series of twenty four Jewish prohibitions, Espina wrote:

> '... through the sins of prelates, princes and territorial lords, the Jews observe few or none of the ordinances cited above, for, through the conversation of Jews have the Lords who receive and protect them, they (the lords) have reached such an abyss of evil that they have become blind to the voices of preachers and the clamours of the populace... and (the Jews), having the favour of the judges, have verdicts passed in their favour at will. Because of these things several evils have come to the people, principally in faith and customs'.[87]

Here we have the authentic voice of the fanatical preacher condemning the evils of his time. The allusion to Sodom and

Gomorrah, with its overtones of unnatural sexual practices, echoes the contemporary scurrilous propaganda circulating about the sexual preferences of Henry IV.[88] Espina also declared that the Jews were receiving privileges from everyone, and that there were several nobles in the king's household who defended the Jews, no matter what they were accused of.[89] Therefore, incorporated within the traditional blood libel legends, there were contemporary criticisms of the king and nobility, and of their failure to administer justice properly. It is these accretions which inject a contemporary flavour to the alleged child murders, and provide useful information about the ideological partnership of Espina and his followers.

> 'I am unable to approve, of "conversations" between Christians and Jews, especially with prelates, magnates and kings, since from this bad example danger arises not only to the body but also to the soul of the republic, as we see and are experiencing now'.[90]

Was Espina exaggerating the status and privileges of the Jews in the Castile of Henry IV? It is certainly very difficult to penetrate propaganda directed against Henry IV by a shifting series of noble alliances. However, to judge by contemporary chronicles, royal decrees and household accounts, both John II and Henry IV continued to employ Jews as physicians and tax farmers.[91] The infante Henry appointed Joseph ibn shem Tob as director of the royal accounts. Shem Tob, one of the most prolific of fifteenth-century Jewish philosophers, was also encouraged to dispute philosophical issues in the presence of the king and grandees.[92] Henry sent him to Segovia

in 1452 after he heard rumours of an anti-Jewish conspiracy organised to coincide with Easter. On the orders of Henry, Shem Tob calmed the fears of the Jewish community, and delivered an inspiring sermon to them on the Sabbath.[93] Shem Tob was also in Segovia between the Feast of Tabernacles (October 1454) and 20 March 1455, during which time he wrote two important treatises.[94] However, although Segovia was within Espina's 'preaching sphere of influence', he does not mention any planned uprising against the Jews, not does he site any of his blood libel stories there. Perhaps Segovia's reputation as the favourite town of Henry IV inured it against such accusations. Other scattered references to the Jewish courtiers of Henry IV indicate that both he and his father, John II, employed and protected Jews as well as large numbers of conversos. This suggests that the sentiments which Espina was expressing in the Fortalitium Fidei were not entirely fictional but were some kind of reflection of contemporary events.

There was little trace of the blood libels cited by Espina outside of the Fortalitium Fidei.[95] No reference was made to them in contemporary chronicles, nor is there any indication that they were ever publicised nationally. However, plays based on blood libel legends were performed in Tavara, Toro, and Avila.[96] The dating of the plays is unknown and so it is impossible to infer whether they were based on Espina's anecdotes, or whether Espina derived his information from the plays. Other blood libel cases did receive a greater amount

of publicity. For example, in 1468, in Sepulveda, Rabbi Salomón Picho supposedly ordered the Jews to kill a young Christian boy at Easter. According to the Segovia chronicler:

> 'This blood libel, like many others remembered at the time, became public news and came to the notice of our Bishop, don Juan Arias de Avila, who, as the superior judge in cases of the faith at that time, investigated this one ...' 98

What is interesting in this extract, apart from the implication that blood libels were not uncommon, is the implication that jurisdiction for a secular crime such as murder lay with the Bishop rather than the civil authorities. This suggests that the demarcation line between heresy and alleged Jewish crimes was becoming blurred, and that blood libel cases were increasingly being viewed as a type of heresy rather than as as a secular crime. One should bear in mind that definitions of heresy and jurisdiction over heretics were elastic and infinitely adaptable to specific political circumstances.[99] Perhaps political conditions were such in Sepulveda in 1468 that the Bishop felt it necessary to intervene. Whatever the reason, the converso Bishop ordered the arrest of sixteen Jews who were subsequently brought to Segovia. Here, several of them were burned, and others were hanged in the dehesa next to the Franciscan convent of St. Anthony.[100]

The blood libel legend reached its climax, just before the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, in the case concerning the 'Holy Child' of La Guardia'.[101] The alleged atrocities of

this episode are well known and can be briefly summarised. A young Christian boy was murdered on Good Friday. His heart was removed, but his corpse was never found. Six conversos and two Jews from the towns of La Guardia (Toledo), Tembleque, and Zamora were accused of his murder, with the further charge of Host Profanation. The verdict of the irregular Inquisition trial which was held between 1490-1, was widely publicised throughout Spain in an attempt to prepare public opinion for the expulsion of the Jews. This had been precisely Espina's aim in cataloguing Jewish atrocities over thirty years previously.[102] In this respect, Espina can be regarded as the original architect of the plan to expel the Jews from Spain. His enumeration of the gruesome details of ritual child murder was not merely to arouse the anti-Jewish prejudices of the populance, but was part of a long-term plan to rid Spain of the Jews.

In the Fortalitium Fidei, heretics, like the Jews, constituted a serious threat to the purity of the Catholic faith. Espina's solution to the problem of heresy was the establishment of an Inquisition to protect Catholic Orthodoxy.[103] The nature, function and jurisdiction of this Inquisition were sketched out in meticulous detail by the friar, although Espina made no claims to orginal thinking as many of his ideas were carefully footnoted with acknowledgements to the appropraite canonical and papal decrees.[104] The apointment of archbishops, bishops, inquisitors and archdeacons to investiagte cases of heresy was not new, but Espina's proposal that annual inquisitorial visitations of dioceses and archdioceses should be carried out was an

innovation. Espina's penchant for written evidence was highlighted in his guidelines for notarial procedure. He recommended, following what he referred to as the 'Treatise of Heretics', that depositions from witnesses should preferably be taken down by a public notary.[105] He also dealt at some length with questions of jurisdiction, methods of punishment, and the number of staff the Inquisition should employ.[106] As Beinart observes with respect to Espina's proposals, as set down in the Fortalitium Fidei:

> 'This plan provides striking evidence of the degree to which Alonso de Espina inspired the inquisitors of Torquemada's day when they began to operate some twenty years after he had committed his method to writing.' [107]

Espina devoted several chapters in the Fortalitium Fidei to discussing the kind of heresies which were current in Castile.[108] These provide illustrations of the extent to which Castilian Catholicism was an amorphous collection of popular beliefs and 'official' theology. They also provide the historian with details of alleged heresies whose existence was not recorded in other contemporary documents. Surprisingly perhaps, Espina failed to mention the one significant heresy which did receive publicity. This was the heresy known as the Duranguesada, whose members espoused fraticelli and Free Spirit ideas, and whose leader was a Franciscan friar, like Espina.[109] Espina's references to heresies specified the place and the year the relevant heresy was discovered. Like his Jewish blood libel cases, Espina 'discovered' heresy in those areas of Old Castile where he carried out his preaching tours, in towns like Zamora, Valladolid, Segovia, Frómista, and Medina

del Campo.

Espina enumerated no fewer than fourteen heresies which were current in Castile. These were classified into different categories, such as heresies against the Holy Scriptures, against the Church, ceremonies, and articles of fath.[110] Espina's definition of heresy was rather wideranging. For example, he devoted a lot of space to condemning the heresy of those who had themselves circumcised.[111] However, the theme of circumcision was used by Espina as a platform for condemning conversos. A diverse range of heretical beliefs and practices was subsumed into this particular category of heretic, which suggests that Espina's diatribes were not directed against heretics in general but conversos in particular. The heresies committed against articles of faith were concerned with confession, indulgencies, and purgatory. The remainder of the contemporary heresies referred to questions of 'dominion of grace', scepticism, and astrological beliefs. However, Espina's main obsession was with circumcised heretics, that is judiazing conversos, and it is this issue which should be looked at in more detail.

Beinart has analysed the links between the 1449 Toledo uprising against the conversos and the subsequent trial of fourteen converso magistrates and notaries.[112] The outcome of this trial was enshrined in the sentencia-estatuto which debarred the conversos from holding public offices in Toledo. Although it is impossible to prove that there were definite links between Sarmiento's revolt and the converso trials, there is

strong circumstantial evidence to suggest a close degree of co-ordination.[113] In the Fortalitium Fidei, Espina quoted at length from the trial of several heretics in Toledo.[114] Although the names of the heretics mentioned by Espina do not tally with those tried in 1449, there is a remarkable similarity between the charges made against the 1449 conversos and those quoted by Espina in c.1460. As mentioned above, the sentencia-estatuto polarised public opinion into pro- and anti-converso factions. It has also been argued that Espina's chapters in Fortalitium Fidei against Jews and heretics should be interpreted within this propaganda framework, as a significant contribution to the anti-converso polemic. In order to assess the significance of Espina's anti-converso propaganda, one should examine the two major anti-converso documents of 1449. These were entitled: 'Sentencia-estatuto que Pedro Sarmiento, asistente de Toledo, y el Común de la Ciudad dieron en el año 1449 contra los conversos'; and 'El Memorial Contra los Conversos del Bachiller Marcos García de Mora, "Marquillos de Mazarambroz."'[115]

The first document was drafted on 5 June 1449, and the second between the end of October and beginning of November 1449. The sentencia described the events which took place in Toledo in that year, and listed the twelve conversos who were deprived of public office. With regard to the 'heretical' beliefs of these conversos, Sarmiento quoted from a perquisa which had been carried out and lodged in the Toledo archives. He mentioned only four errors, presumably those considered the

most serious, and referred vaguely to other judaizing activities of these conversos. The four charges were: observing the rites and ceremonies of the 'Old Law'; stating that Jesus Christ was from their own 'fallen lineage'; belief in the existence of a male and female God; and the sacrifice and eating of lambs on Holy Thursday, when Christ's Body was being placed in the 'monumento' and the oil and chrism were being consecrated in Toledo Cathedral. This pesquisa, which Sarmiento had in his possession at the time of writing, had been carried out by the vicars of Toledo Cathedral. The Memorial of the Bachiller Marquillos provided more detailed information of the judaizing practices of the Toledo conversos. Benito Ruano described it as an accurate reflection of public opinion towards conversos and Jews in 1449 Toledo.[116] According to Marquillos, the Toledo rebels were justified in persecuting conversos because the latter had been found guilty, through truthful pesquisas, of rebelling and taking up arms against Pedro Sarmiento. This reference to pesquisas is interesting as it shows that the term was used indiscriminately to apply to investigations of religious and secular crimes. What is unknown in this particular case is whether secular and religious jurisdictions overlapped - that is, whether the Toledo conversos were charged with political sedition and heresy. Certainly, the way in which Marquillos detailed the treasonable activities of the conversos, then immediately launched into an exposé of their heresies suggests some degree of jurisdictional overlap. According to Marquillos, the errors of the conversos consisted of two types: transgressions against

the Catholic faith and the observation of Jewish rites and ceremonies. In the first instance, their errors were principally verbal and physical blasphemy. For example, they denied Christ and the Virgin Mary, they ate meat on Sundays and during Lent, and converso clerics allegedly sold consecrated Hosts to Jews and Infidels. The active aspects of their judaizing included observing Jewish fast days, in accordance with Mosaic Law; attending the synagogue every day to observe Jewish ceremonies and recite prayers against the Christians; keeping a lamp in the synagogue, and contributing money every day for the purchase of oil; taking the belts of pregnant Jewish women to strike on the synagogue doors in the belief that this would make childbirth easier; possessing idols; and reconciling themselves, on their deathbeds, to the Jewish faith in the presence of Jewish doctors and 'masters of law'. In addition, Marquillos reported that even at the time of their execution the conversos did not repent, but uttered the words, '¡Ay Adonai el viejo!'[117] As Beinart points out with reference to the Jewish errors catalogued by Espina, these judaizing activities or Jewish cultural practices were similar to those recorded in later Inquisition trials. The similarity of the charges can also be extended to Marquillos' description. The implications of this observation are twofold: either Espina had access to the Toledo pesquisas, or a manual for inquisitors was already in use, leading to the formulation of a stereotyped pattern of judaizing accusations.

There was a chronological lag of some ten years between the

circulation of the 1449 documents and the composition of the Fortalitium Fidei. Were there any developments during this decade which indicate that a more structured inquisitorial procedure was mooted for the investigating of judaizing converos? The attitude of the Papacy towards the treatment of the Toledo conversos fluctuated in the period immediately following the revolt.[118] After condemning the sentecia-estatuto in the bull Humani Generis (24 September 1449), the Papacy annulled this with another Bull in October 1450. The reasons given for this back-tracking were the scandals and evils which the first Bull had provoked. The second Bull was followed by a third in November 1451, which ordered the appropriate authorities to procede inquisitorially against those suspected of heresy. Apparently, John II had informed Nicholas V that, 'a not inconsiderable number of conversos, both lay and clergy, publicly or secretly observed Jewish ceremonies.'[119] According to Beltrán de Heredia, these were not in fact the sentiments of John II but of someone in authority at the royal court who was manipulating the king. This person, he believes, was the Constable of Castile, Alvaro de Luna. He cites the justification offered by John II in 1453 after the constable's execution, in which the King condemned Luna's high-handed behaviour in exceeding his authority by issuing orders and sending legations in the King's name. Among these legations were those to the Papal curia, where the constable obtained certain bulls in the King's name. How does Luna fit in with the political intrigues of post-1499 Toledo? After all the 1449 uprising was directed against the constable and the conversos. The key to this apparent

changing of sideson Luna's part perhaps does not lie with the religious issue of judaizing conversos, but with the political muscle of certain sectors of the converso population. The struggle for the King's favour was more important than the question of religious orthodoxy, and Luna's support for the Toledo conversos in 1449 and his attempts to elicit anti-converso legislation from the Papacy between 1450-1 must be interpreted within the framework of power politics. By 1453, the conversos had gained the upper hand at court, and the execution of Luna removed their principal enemy from the scene. It is also possible to discern a link between Luna's anti-converso allegations to Nicholas V in 1450-1 and Espina's similar pronouncements in 1460. Espina heard Luna's last confession in 1453 and also shared the ex-constable's antipathy towards the conversos.[120] Espina's attempt in 1461 to persuade the Jeronymite monks to liaise with the Franciscans in asking the King to establish an Inquisition can be seen as a continuation of Luna's policy of 1450-1.

Beinart has looked at Espina's rather haphazard catalogue of converso heresies and classified them into three main catagories: the observance of Jewish rites, ceremonies and cultural life; opposition and resistance to Christianity; and miscellaneous heretical beliefs and practices, such as idol-worship and astrological reckonings. As I mentioned above, the bulk of these 'errors' are subsumed under the heading of the 'heresy of the circumcised'. Espina considered the latter practice to be fundamentally opposed to Christian

precepts Before discussing the extent of the practice of circumcision, Espina was careful to point out that his information was based on hearsay rather than personal experience:

> 'Sed nunquid sunt alique tales isto tiempe certe non sun testis de visu. Sed illi qui viderunt filios christianos circumcisos propriis oculis testimonium perhibuerunt et perhibent et scimos que ves est testimonium eos'.[122]

One of his informants was the guardian of the Franciscan convent in Zamora, who had told Espina of the elaborate explanation offered to him by a Zamora converso of why her two young sons were circumcised.[123] In another illustration of this heresy, Espina linked the practice with the profession of certain heretical beliefs. He had discovered this heresy when he was preaching in Medina de Campo in 1459.[124] A converso cleric told him of secret heretics who believed that the Christ of the Gospel was false. To counteract this heresy, Espina had preached a series of sermons denouncing this belief and reaffirming the excellence of the Catholic faith. However, at the time of writing the Fortalitium Fidei, six months after his preaching campaign, he had been told on good authority that while he was preaching, there had been thirty men in Medina del Campo recovering from the operation of circumcision. Furthermore, these were the same people who had professed heretical beliefs about Jesus Christ. Therefore, in this particular sect, the operation of circumcision seemed to Espina to have constituted some kind of initiation rite. Members of this sect included one Master Francisco, a

physican who had sold his goods and property and who intended to move to Jerusalem.[125] Espina had been given his name by the King who had received his information from a Jewish physican. Further news of this sect was acquired from people 'worthy of faith' and from conversos. The ideologue of this heresy was a Spanish converso cleric, formerly resident in Flanders, who had taught this heresy to some Spanish merchants. It was these marchants who had been circumcised in Medina del Campo while Espina was delivering his sermons. At the time Espina was writing the Fortalitium Fidei, these merchants were waiting in Seville to cross over to 'Barbary' in order to live freely as Jews.[126] How much credence should be given to all this? Certainly, the general hypothesis is plausible: trade routes between Medina del Campo, centre of two annual international fairs, and the rest of Europe facilitated the transmission and circulation of heretical beliefs and practices. However, the implication that these merchants were converting to Judaism, but were not themselves of Jewish decent, strikes rather an odd note. Espina seemed to be confused in his own mind about the 'racial' background of these heretical merchants. On the one hand, he alluded to information derived from the heretics' 'own people', a phrase Espina usually employed to describe conversos. On the other hand, he used the phrase '... conversi sunt ad Iudaismum', which implied that the heretics were Old Christians. One possible explanation is that both Old Christians in Medina de Campo and conversos were converting to Judaism. The reference to 'Barbary' and Jerusalem may be an allusion to the messianic hopes nursed by the

Castilian Jews and conversos of returning to Jerusalem after the Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453.[127] Although no trace of the Medina del Campo heresy has survived in other contemporary documents, the wealth of detail provided by Espina about these heretics suggests that the friar was perhaps quoting from a written source.

Under the umbrella of the 'circumcision heresy', Espina listed more than twenty judaizing errors taken from a Toledo pesquisa.[128] These charges were very similar to those cited by the Bachiller Marquillos in 1449. Espina was careful to point out that he was quoting from a bona fide source:

> I saw a certain pesquisa which I got hold of by chance, and which was carried out against those people (conversos) in the town of Toledo, and from the many things I read there it was noticeable that some of them were not sound in their faith...[129]

Among the errors they were accused of were: having their sons circumcised; placing oil and lamps in Jewish synagogues; observing the Sabbath; using the Jewish oath in business, and swearing by the law of Moses; pretending that their children were seriously ill so that they could give them a Jewish baptism at home; and sending their children to the synagogue to be educated. Their blasphemies against Christianity were of a more passive kind:

they believed that the Eucharist was merely a ceremony used by priests to induce greater devotion among the people; when in danger they did not invoke Christ and the Virgin Mary but said, 'May Adonay help me!';they profaned the Host, mocked baptism and other priestly ceremonies, and refused to bless themselves properly; they rarely attended Mass and confession, and, when they did so, it was merely to keep up appearances. They were also accused of miscellaneous errors, such as killing and eating lamb on the day of Jovis; believing that their existence was ultimately meaningless; marrying within the prohibited degree; and worshipping strange idols. Although Espina attempted to give a brief summary of these converso heresies, he occasionally digressed and gave more detailed information about the Toledo heretics. The format of these digressions was uncannily similar to that in later Inquisition trials. Two illustrations of these proto-Inquisition trials can be found in the case of the Toledo idolators and in that of the bachiller Diego Gómez.

The case of the Toledo idolators, Alfonso González de Faro and his wife Mencía Alonso, revealed the cultural ragbag of beliefs and fears of an Old Christian witness towards his converso neighbours.[130] According to the witness, an ex-lodger of the converso couple, the conversos possessed a stone tablet into which were carved four wooden

images. The stone had small doors attached to it, which allowed the images to be concealed and locked away. The images were of a large man with a golden crown, whose bottom half was as black as coal, and of three young women with black hair who were also as black as coal. The eyewitness claimed that the tablet was hidden in a secret place in the bedroom ceiling. When the bells of Toledo tolled for the Ave Maria, this tablet was taken down from its hiding place and adored. The 'adoring ceremony' was carried out with candles extinguished, the images were referred to as saints, and they were prayed to in languages such as Arabic and French. In addition, the witness accused the couple of eating meat throughout Lent and at other forbidden times. Beinart has dismissed this description of idol worship as a figment of Espina's imagination.[131] And indeed it does convey the impression of a fantasy rather than an accurate description of judaizing activities. Nevertheless, a closer analysis of individual elements of this scene reveals a surprising amount about Old Christian beliefs about judaizing, rather than about the real activities of conversos in Toledo. What is most striking is the element of inversion in this idolatrous scene.[132] Traditional Christian practices were turned on their head. Thus, the stone tablet with locking doors suggests an inverted equivalent of the tabernacle. The images are described as black with black

hair, rather than as the pale-skinned and blonde-haired images usually associated with fifteenth-century religious iconography. The tablet hidden away in a secret place is the counterpoint to the publicly displayed tabernacle. The manner in which the images were adored, and the time of day allotted to this ceremony, also appear to be deliberate inversions of Christian practices. Instead of reciting the Ave Maria when the church bells tolled, the conversos prayed to their images, whom they referred to as saints. The Christian practice of reciting prayers with candles alight is inverted and the prayer session is carried out with the candles extinguished. Like the Christians, the ceremony is conducted in a foreign tongue, but with Arabic or French used instead of the priest's Latin. All in all, this description of idol worship in Toledo appears as a distorted mirror-image of normal Christian rites and practices, and one which was projected on to a converso household in Toledo. The reference to meat-eating during proscribed periods merely reinforces the allegedly inverted nature of converso religious practices. Although the product of 'fantasy', therefore, the episode is revealing precisely because fantasies are also subject to historical change, and an analysis of this particular one reveals something of the growing religious and social chasm between Old and New Christians in post-1449 Toledo. Like the evolution of witch beliefs

in late medieval and early modern Europe, beliefs about the unnaturalness of the Christianity of Castilian conversos can be seen as a fusion of popular and educated opinion.[133] In this instance, many elements of Christianity were simply inverted to emphasise converso alienation from the Christian community.

The second example of a proto-Inquisition trial also claimed to describe the beliefs of a Toledo converso.[134] In this case the legalistic jargon used by Espina indicated that he was quoting directly from a written disposition:

> Quod sunt peiores heretici quam Arriani et quicunque alii qui contra legem Christi erraverunt, sicut patet in predicta pesquisia de errore Didaci Gomes bachalarii, filii de Mosen Iohanne eiusdem gentis, sicut affirmavit, iuramento interposito, Aluarus Fernandi, medicus, predicte ciuitatis conuicinus, presentatus in testem in forma iuris.[135]

The description of Diego Gómez's heresies was derived from the testimony of one Alvaro Fernández and, like later Inquisition trials, took the form of reported conversations between the witness and the defendant, interspersed with personal comments and additional information. Diego Gómez held certain unusual opinions about scriptural sources. He believed that the 'ordinary' scriptures were intended for the populace, but that the educated

had access to other scriptures which were of greater authority and certainty.[136] Alvaro Fernández thought that Gómez, through these 'superior' scriptures, might have the answer to Christian mysteries such as the Holy Trinity, the Incarnation, the Eucharist, and Christ's Nativity. When he had asked Gómez to reveal these scriptures to him, the latter had replied that they were written in Hebrew. These Hebrew writings told of the kind of spirits which Abraham, Christ and Mohammed possessed. The ensuing description of this particular heresy was a strange amalgam of astrological and magical beliefs. Abraham was described as indulging in a magical rite, which involved standing in a circle and circumcising himself in order to obtain blood, and in so doing receiving the spirit of Saturn. Christ had been taught by a great Rabbi, he was the 'love captive' of a certain Jewess, and possessed the spirit of Mercury. Christ had rebelled against the teachings of the Rabbi, and had become involved in a jurisdictional wrangle with the Rabbi and Judas Iscariot, who had also been taught by the Rabbi. Lastly, Mohammed was described as possessing the spirit of Mars. Gómez had also said that Christ had used black magic to cause an earthquake at the time of his death. Because of this all the prophets who used magic were killed. He claimed that the Eucharist was round in shape like the sun because it was, in fact, the sacrifice of the

sun. Alvaro Fernández, on hearing such abominations against both the Christian and Jewish faith, had broken off all communication with Gómez. He also considered that the latter's beliefs were by no means atypical. Indeed,his general assessment of conversos was also recorded. He stated that he now knew so much about these people (conversos) that he would give more credence to a Sarracen, who swore to him by his own law, than he would to a converso who swore by the Holy God of the Gospels; that there were few good people among them, and that the majority were augurers, soothsayers, and worse.[137] This was the image of the converso from the point of view of a Toledo physician. He ascribed to the conversos a motley collection of magical and astrological beliefs which were considered heretical by Jewish and Christian standards. Lastly, he affirmed that even the word of an infidel was considered more creditworthy than that of a converso.

Espina described the trial of a barber from Fromista who also held eclectic beliefs about Christ.[138] In 1458, Pedro de Castilla, Bishop of Palencia, carried out an inquisition against Fernando Sánchez. Allegedly Sánchez had publicly announced that he did not believe that Jesus Christ was the true God, that God had never had a son, and that he only believed in the God who had created the

sky, stars, sea and sand. The evidence of seven witnesses was taken down for the Bishop by the local public notary, and the pesquisa was apparently sent to Espina, on the orders of the Bishop.[139] The reason why this was done is not stated explicitly, although it would appear that Espina was appointed commissioner for this case. On the friar's recommendation, Sánchez was imprisoned, but because of public outcry this was commuted to ten years' exile from Frómista. Espina provided only one bibliographical reference as the possible source of Sanchez's heresy. This was a book entitled 'Nitra' by the astrologist Martin of Toledo, which was found in the possession of the Frómista heretics.[140]

The 'heresy of the circumcised' not only found adepts in towns like Frómista, Toledo, and Medina del Campo but also in Segovia. While Espina was in Segovia in 1459 during the Jewish feast of Tabernacles, a local alguacil told him of the judaizing activities of certain conversos.[141] The alguacil in the course of his duties had to go to the synagogue to offer protection to a certain Jew. He had stationed himself next to the synagogue door when he observed a converso leaving the synagogue with his head covered. He had then gone into the synagogue and found several other conversos dressed and praying as Jews. The alguacil immediately publicised this news throughout Segovia. The more Espina multiplied the number of examples of false conversos he had heard of personally,

the more he created the impression that these were not isolated individuals but converso communities as a whole. The message of the mendicant was that all conversos were suspect not only of judaizing but also of a host of heretical, blasphemous and idolatrous beliefs. In short, Espina's anti-converso propaganda differed little from the criticisms levelled against the Toledo conversos in 1449. The solution Espina proposed for the converso problem was the establishment of an Inquisition, and a call to arms to all 'true' Catholics, such as inquisitors, bishops, evangelical preachers, princes and nobles. He also warned that the damage to the Christian religion might be widespread, as the enemy might have corrupted many in secret.[142]

In comparison, Espina's discussion of the remaining contemporary heresies was rather perfunctory.[143] On the whole, these heresies tended to reflect the low level of Christian education rather than any contemporary social and political crisis. These heresies were concerned with mistaken beliefs about the sacrament of penance, the powers of priests, indulgences, Masses for the dead, and miscellaneous astrological beliefs. One can surmise that the 'confession' heresies were perhaps part of an intellectual controversy conducted in theological circles in the 1450s.[144] However, a personal note does creep into Espina's denun-

ciation of the heresies formulated against mendicant jurisdiction in administering the sacrament of penance. Much of this controversy evolved from the difficulties of interpreting the IV Lateran decretal Omnis utriusque sexus, which stipulated the necessity of annual confession.[145] Despite papal attempts to clarify the issue, Espina had encountered unorthodox teachings on the subject in Valladolid in 1458.[146] In the church of St. James, a priest named Alfonso de Béjar had announced that parishioners could insist on confessing to their parish priest at least once a year; and that those who confessed to mendicant friars were obliged to confess the same sins to their parish priest. Espina informed the Bishop of Palencia of these errors. Subsequently, the Bishop ordered the cleric to retract his teachings publicly in the Church of St. James in front of a great multitude, including Dominican and Franciscan preachers. This jurisdiction controversy is interesting for several reasons. Firstly, it revealed a certain confusion about one of the most fundamental of Catholic practices, that of the sacrament of penance. Secondly, it implied that the laity tended to favour the mendicants as confessors rather than the secular clergy. Thirdly, it is interesting that Pedro de Castilla, diocesan and representative of the secular clergy, should support the mendicants. After all, one would have expected that the juridical status of mendicants, which placed them

outside the jurisdiction of the local bishop, would lead to a certain degree of rivalry or open opposition.

Yet this latter point is perhaps not so surprising when we take into account Espina's chief purpose and its accompanying strategies. Espina's use of the term 'heresy' was very imprecise, and he used it to discredit those he imagined to be, or who were, his opponents. The latter, of course, included the conversos, but, as has been seen, they also included men in 'high places' - those in royal offices who protected 'heretics'. A fundamental transformation of policy was therefore needed, and this, in Espina's view, would require an Inquisition. It is for this reason that the Fortalitium Fidei contains so many examples of Espina expressing approval of episcopal action in rooting out heresy and publicising alleged Jewish atrocities. Espina realised that gaining episcopal support was crucial to his anti-converso and anti-Jewish campaign. But above all he realised that his Mentalité had to be converted into a 'discourse of truth' which would ultimately become the policy of the State. In this he was successful. If Espina had not existed the Spanish Inquisition might have been 'unthinkable'.

PART B

FEMALE FRANCISCANS

CHAPTER 4

DEMOGRAPHY AND FEMALE RELIGIOUS VOCATIONS

The study of female religious vocation and religious experience is one which in the past has been largely neglected by historians. Yet, as a recent article points out, 'the relationship between women and religion ... is emerging as one of the most striking themes of women's history ...'[1] This type of research is not only of considerable interest to historians of religion, but also, by examining the role assigned to women in the Church, is useful in gauging changing social attitudes towards women. In early modern Castile, the incidence of female religious vocations was extremely high, in particular among the main mendicant orders.[2] This was also the case in Florence at the same period, where the number of female religious increased from 2.25% of the female population in 1428-9 to a remarkable 11.5% in 1552.[3] The proportion of female to male religious vocations had thus shifted dramatically between 1336 and 1552: in the earlier period, there were two male for every female religious vocation; in the sixteenth century, on the other hand, the proportion had changed to 4.5 females for every one male religious vocation. In pre-Tridentine Florence, therefore, as Trexler points out, monasticism had changed sex.

In Castile during the same period a similar pattern can

be discerned, with the Franciscan Order proving to be the most popular choice for aspiring nuns. Women took their religious vows in the various female branches of the Order; in the Second Order of St. Clare, the Third Order Regular, and the newly-founded Order of the Immaculate Conception.[4] Apart from these three official Orders, women also joined the numerous informal communities known as beaterios, emparedamientos and casas de recogimiento. The relationship between these sisterhoods and the Franciscan Order was ill-defined, but at least some of them followed a rule based on that followed by Franciscan tertiaries. Surviving evidence suggests that there was little difference, with regard to structure and organisation, between these beaterios or emparedamientos and official converts. A Seville chronicler, writing in the late sixteenth century, described the nature and function of these communities in the following way:

> In former times (when monasteries of nuns were not so well organised as they are nowadays) chaste and devout Seville women (who tried to go into retreat and follow a holy life-style with enclosure) were accustomed to adopt the habit of beatas recogidas, and (having promised obedience to some monastery of friars in Seville) withdrew to private households where they followed a monastic regime for themselves with turnstiles and special doorways, and where no men could enter. These women sought after and bought houses which adjoined parish churches in such a way that a grille opened on to the main body of the church, beside the high altar, from where the women could hear mass whilst still observing enclosure. The reason for this was that these houses of recogimiento did not have chapels, chaplains

> or choir obligations. Their professed vows were nothing more than to live there, in retreat and enclosed in perpetual chastity, by the work and toil of their own hands, and with their patrimonies.[5]

The essential difference, therefore, between a beaterio and a convent seems to have been that the former did not possess its own church and choir, but in all other respects the two institutions were indistinguishable.

There are certain methodological problems involved in calculating the number of Franciscan nuns and beatas in pre-Tridentine Castile. Convents of the Second and Third Order and the Order of the Immaculate Conception could be counted by checking licences granted to prospective patrons by the Papacy.[6] However, not all patrons who obtained a licence to found a convent managed to complete the project. In addition, convents which were tertiary foundations in origin were frequently transferred to the Second Order by later patrons, and were sometimes given a different name. Moreover, in the late fifteenth century, as part of a campaign to bring beaterios and casas de recogimiento under the closer supervision of the mendicant orders, these communities were either annexed to existing convents or transformed themselves into formally organised religious houses. Any estimate of the number of female Franciscan foundations, therefore, must be

interpreted with these provisos in mind.

Despite these reservations there are some indications that female monasticism in general, and the female branches of the Franciscan Order in particular, underwent a significant expansion in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[7] For example, the number of convents belonging to the Second Order of St. Clare increased from seventy two in c. 1400 to 185 in 1570, with a peak being reached between 1490 - 1520.[8] The city of Toledo provides a striking example of the rapid expansion in the number of female Franciscan houses between the late fifteenth century and 1538, the year in which a royal decree was issued forbidding the building of convents and monasteries within the city.[9] Up to 1477 there was only one female Franciscan house in Toledo; by 1525 there were seven convents of Franciscan nuns. Of these seven, three belonged to the Second Order, three to the Third Order Regular, and one to the Order of the Immaculate Conception. Although some of these 'new' foundations were former beaterios which had transferred to the Franciscan Order, the gains the Franciscans made in Toledo were impressive, accounting for seven out of the twenty one female houses and beaterios in the city. Among the other religious orders expansion was more modest, with only three more foundations overall in the same period.[10] Nor was Toledo unique in this expansion in the number of female Franciscan foundations as a similar

trend can be noted in Seville and Córdoba.[11]

In addition to this rapid growth in the number of female houses belonging to the Order, the Franciscan demography of late medieval and early modern Castile offers another interesting feature: namely, that nuns apparently outnumbered the friars in several of the Castilian provinces of the Order. Incomplete figures for Franciscan nuns have survived from the year 1523-4, when the new Minister General of the Franciscans, Fr. Francisco de los Angeles Quiñones, undertook a visitation of the Spanish provinces.[12] In some of the provinces the numbers of male and female houses, and of friars and nuns, were noted down, but in certain instances the numbers given were approximate. In the four provinces for which figures survive - Santiago, 'Bética', Castile and Conception - there was a minimum of 4.400 nuns housed in ninety four convents. The ratio of nuns per convent was highest in 'Bética', in Andalusia, with an average of fifty three, followed by Conception with forty eight, Santiago with forty three, and lastly Castile with forty. The total number of male houses in the same four provinces was 116, which contained approximately 3.100 friars. The province of 'Bética' again contained the highest number of religious per house, with an average of thirty two,followed by Conception with thirty one, Castile with twenty six, and finally Santiago with an average of only nineteen friars

per monastery. This fragmentary evidence indicates that, although the friars had the greater number of houses, female religious outnumbered male by 17.33% overall and that female convents contained far larger numbers than male houses. This situation has two obvious implications: either female houses were more financially secure than male houses, and therefore could afford to accommodate more inmates; or, on the contrary, female convents were in a more financially precarious position than the friaries. This point - the financial and economic organization of convents - will be examined in some detail below.[13] It should also be pointed out that these figures for 1523-4 do not include women who followed a voluntary religious rule or those who lived in Beaterios, under the jurisdiction of the Franciscan Order. If these are taken into account then the number of women attached to the Franciscan Order, in either an official or unofficial capacity, constitutes a movement of considerable magnitude.

Another development during this period attests to the importance of the mendicant convent as a forum for the education of impecunious young ladies. Patrons were increasingly establishing colleges for doncellas, which adjoined a convent where the girls, when they came of age, had the option of adopting a religious vocation. For example, Cardinal Cisneros bequeathed a sizeable income to the Franciscan tertiary house of San Juan de la Penitencia in Toledo '... to maintain the poor and needy

doncellas who are admitted to the Casa de Doncellas; and to provide a dowry for those who wish to marry...'[14] Other patrons placed clauses in convents' foundation charters stipulating that a certain number of women, nominated by the patron, were to be admitted free of charge.[15] Female convents thus served several functions during this period: they housed women who wished to follow a religious vocation, and they acted as an educational and charitable institution for young ladies. The degree of Franciscan influence on women was thus potentially enormous, extending from their own official convents through to beata houses and girls' colleges.

The evidence suggests that two interrelated trends had affected the regular orders in late medieval and early modern Castile. These were: an increase in the number of official female convents, which, in certain regions at least, housed large numbers of nuns; and an expansion which took place within the ranks of the Franciscan Order, at that time the largest mendicant order in Castile.[16] Regular life was thus becoming feminised and 'Franciscanised', two features which would have important ramifications for the development of spirituality and for standards of saintliness.[17] Leaving to one side the reasons why the Franciscan Order was so successful in attracting female recruits, let us address the more pressing question of why a religious vocation had become such a popular 'career'

choice for a sizeable section of the female population. If, firstly, we accept the premise that medieval nunneries, because of the nature of conventual patronage and the dowry system, tended to attract women from the upper ranks of society, and if, secondly, we accept the more questionable premise that such women would in normal demographic circumstances tend to marry, then the dramatic upsurge in the number of female religious vocations can be explained in terms of an imbalance in the male-female ratio among the Castilian elite in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[18] This explanation is plausible given the demands made on the nobility by continuous warfare and, to a lesser extent, by emigration to the New World. However the lack of a comprehensive population census relegates this explanation to a mere hypothesis.[19] It also fails to take account of the possibility that for many aristocratic and patrician women the adoption of a religious habit was a positive rather than a negative choice. Nonetheless the phenomenon of two or three sisters from the same family taking their vows in the same convent calls into question the degree of real choice these women had.[20] The proliferation of informal communities of women, whether _beaterios_ or _emparedamientos_, adds weight to the 'male-deficiency' argument but also suggests that another factor came into play, that is, that work opportunities for women lower down the social scale were declining at the same time as marriage opportunities. How

was this the case? Beata houses and other unofficial communities, it will be recalled, were particularly numerous in cities like Toledo, Seville and Córdoba, and also in smaller towns like Zamora in Old Castile. These communities were established in private households, usually in the house of a widow with private means, and although no precise details have survived on the financial infrastructure of these sisterhoods, they would appear to have been largely self-supporting. Vague allusions were made to these women earning their living through manual work, presumably by spinning and weaving cloth and other materials.[21] The banding together of groups of women in beaterios thus afforded them a degree of financial security which they would not have enjoyed had they worked on a freelance basis. The adoption of a religious rule gave these sisterhoods another kind of protection and a certain religious credibility in the eyes of the authorities. Beaterios thus provided single and widowed women with some degree of economic security and social respectability.[22]

The censuses carried out in sixteenth-century Castile clearly indicate that widowed women, at least, were in dire need of financial aid. These women were often exempt from paying tax and were classified, for tax purposes, along with other disadvantaged groups such as minors and paupers. Towns in Andalusia such as Seville, Carmona

and Jaén, recorded relatively high percentages of widows in their tax-paying populations.[23] In Old Castile, Bennassar notes that poverty was an overwhelmingly female affliction with large numbers of widows being left to support their families.[24] But, as Martz observes, it was the city of Toledo which illustrated most clearly this phenomenon of unattached women.[25] The 1561 census catalogued the number of widows, beatas, 'solas' and 'solteras', parish by parish. These women tended to live in the central, wealthy parishes of Toledo where, according to Martz, they were more likely to receive alms and welfare support. The parish of Santa Leocadia, for example, listed 186 widows and single women out of a total of 544 vecinos, that is 34.19% of the tax-paying population. No fewer than seven other parishes, moreover, had pechero populations in which at least 25% were unattached women. Although the number of nuns and beatas living in Toledo's sixteen convents and approximately five beaterios was not listed in the census, it is evident that female religious and 'women alone' constituted a sizeable section of the local population.[26] Toledo perhaps epitomises the coming together of the two separate, but nonetheless interconnected, variables of female poverty, due to a lack of work opportunities, and female celibacy, due to declining marriage prospects. This combination of factors produced in Toledo both large numbers of female religious and of women living alone.

An examination of female patterns of employment is obviously beyond the scope of this discussion, but a shortage of jobs does offer a plausible explanation of why women were seeking alternative forms of support in *ad hoc* religious communities. In a contemporary work by a Franciscan friar, a link was also established between expensive marriage alliances and an increase in the number of female religious vocations.[27] Fr. Osuna, in his work entitled *Norte de los Estados*, denounced the fact that weddings were being contracted where wealth rather than 'honour' was the main consideration; old customs were being turned on their head with a woman bringing more to a marriage in the form of her dowry than the total value of the bridegroom's estate. Some impoverished nobles, according to the friar, had stopped marrying off their daughters, many of whom were being forced to become nuns against their will.[28] He also pointed out that a similar trend was emerging at the other end of the social scale: a peasant was spending so lavishly on the wedding of his eldest daughter that '... he has to give her almost everything he owns, and if he has many daughters, one takes everything, and the others have to be poor *beatas* left sitting at the fireside...'[29] Although it is unwise to extrapolate too much from this type of evidence, it is interesting to note the revealing distinction which the friar made between noblewomen who became nuns (*monjas*) and peasant women who became *beatas*. This contrast sugg-

ests that some type of social selectivity was in operation in contemporary religious houses, and that both financial and social considerations could govern the choice of convent and religious rule.

Although Fr. Osuna does not establish a direct correlation between a lack of job opportunities and the taking of religious vows, he does make reference to the disastrous effects the export of Castilian wool had on the poor in general, and on the women of Seville in particular.[30] Apparently Castilian wool and textile workers had been ruined because merchants in Burgos were buying up wool in advance, at a cheap price, and exporting it to England and Flanders. This had deprived the poor from earning their living carding the wool, and married women from spinning and weaving the cloth. In Seville women's jobs had been severely hit when finished cloth from Ghent and Holland had flooded the Seville markets. Women here no longer had the incentive to spin wool and instead were obliged to sell foodstuffs such as sardines, oranges and shrimps - a job change which the friar evidently found distasteful. It is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that such a displacement may have pre-disposed some women to seek an alternative, religious, outlet.

So far we have shown that the number of women adopting

a religious vocation was on the increase during this period. It has also been noted that in some of the major towns of Castile widows and spinsters constituted a significant percentage of the pechero population. An unbalanced sex ratio and a displacement of women from their traditional occupations have been suggested as two factors in the creation of a new market of celibate women. The contemporaneous appearance of new convents, beaterios and other informal religious communities seems to have been one response to these economic and demographic changes. The campaign to impose enclosure and a stricter organisation on tertiary and beata houses may well have been a belated attempt by the ecclesiastical establishment to gain control of these peculiarly female forms of religious communities. Behind the façade of imposing religious discipline and uniformity the authorities sought to neutralise the potentially subversive phenomenon of unlicensed nuns and beatas. In this context it is interesting to note the remarkable parallels between the Church's attempt to bring informal communities under episcopal or mendicant supervision and the campaign by municipal authorities to introduce tighter constraints on prostitutes. In a recent article Perry outlines how the civil authorities in sixteenth-century Seville introduced a license-system for prostitutes, which stipulated that women had to take up residence in, and work from, a public brothel.[31] In this way the authorities hoped to put

a stop to women working on a freelance basis in different parts of town. Perry sees this legalization of prostitution not only as the reflection of current social and economic problems but also as a statement of contemporary perceptions of female sexuality as a whole. Borrowing the concepts of 'purity' and 'pollution' developed by Mary Douglas, she puts forward the thesis that prostitutes were perceived as a source of pollution or disease, a danger to public health, who had to be screened and controlled through a license-system, and confined to the part of town appropriate to their station, to the insalubrious districts on the banks of the river Guadalquivir.[32] Nuns and other female religious represented the other polarity of purity, but, like prostitutes, they too were confined to a certain part of town, through their vow of claustration. Enforced claustration of secular tertiaries and beatas, therefore, can be viewed as a similar type of control mechanism.

Another analogy between prostitutes and nuns can be detected in the sixteenth-century practice of establishing convents for 'fallen women'. This seems to be an obvious example of the paradoxes and contradictions inherent in the ecclesiastical and civil authorities' attitude towards women in general, and female sexuality in particular. Reformatory convents for ex-prostitutes, established in Seville and Toledo, were organised along the same lines

as ordinary convents. Here is a contemporary description of one such convent in Seville:

> The doors of this monastery are always open for these sinful 'public women', and they are received there with all charity. They have their Maestras who instruct them on how to serve God better, who teach them to read and write, and to sing and say the canonical hours, and everything else which is necessary for the holy ceremonies...[33]

In Toledo, the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Piedad was set up for the same purpose, and by 1550 it housed thirty former prostitutes.[34] Similar convents were established in other Castilian towns, and the cult of St. Mary Magdalene, the archetypal repentant female sinner, became extremely popular.

These examples illustrate, I believe, that nuns and prostitutes were perceived as two sides of the same coin; Castilian society's preoccupation with female sexuality operated within the framework of the chaste virgin and sinful whore stereotypes. Beatas and tertiaries who did not observe enclosure challenged these stereotypes, and hence attempts were made to confine them to the chaste rather than the sinful 'sphere of influence'. The very existence of large numbers of unattached and unlicensed females was perceived as a 'problem' by the authorities - beatas and 'freelance nuns' because of the church's fear of heresy, prostitutes because of their association

with sin and disease, and both because of society's perceptions of female sexuality. The solution the authorities came up with was containment, rather than repression, of these 'problem women', and, in both cases, restrictions and prohibitions were placed on the women's freedom of movement.[35]

From this general overview of the emergence of a strong female presence within the Franciscan Order two themes, at least, merit further investigation. Firstly a detailed examination is needed of the economic structure of female Franciscan convents and also of what may be termed their 'social profile'. What was the social background of a typical Franciscan nun, and how much did she donate to the convent as a dowry? Secondly, the effects of this influx of women on Franciscan spirituality, particularly with respect to mystical and visionary movements, needs to be examined.[36] A study of female Franciscanism from these two perspectives should provide valuable information both on the lifestyle of nuns and <u>beatas</u> and on the fascinating contribution they made to the spirituality of the period.

CHAPTER 5.

FEMALE FRANCISCAN HOUSES: ORGANISATION AND ECONOMIC BASIS.

At first glance, an examination of enclosed communities of nuns would appear to be rather unpromising terrain for the historian. After all, female religious, more than any other group of women, seem to be particularly inaccessible: their vow of silence and invisibility behind veil and convent wall have made them, in large part, 'hidden from history'. Yet evidence has survived in a variety of sources - financial contracts, nuns' 'wills' and foundation charters of convents - which illuminates certain aspects of conventual life.[1] These include the funding and endowment of convents, and the social and economic roots of religious vocation.

The Franciscan Order was the most popular choice for aspiring nuns. This was due largely to the reforms brought about in the Order in the fifteenth century which enhanced the esteem of the Franciscans in the eyes of the monarchy and nobility, who in turn provided financial support.[2] Franciscan nuns, unlike the friars, were forbidden to beg, and this prohibition had important ramifications on the financial organisation of female houses. Whereas Observant Franciscans were obliged to give up all regular sources of income, Franciscan nuns continued to rely on rents and tributes for their financial well-being.[3] In fact, papal permission to found a female convent was only given to those patrons who could ensure adequate endowment. Adequate financial provision was crucial

for nunneries for, as has been noted above, these communities tended to house relatively large numbers of inmates at this period.[4] But the question now arises whether Franciscan convents were cushioned against the effects of inflation, or whether, on the contrary, they were placed in a more financially precarious position and were obliged to make economies by placing restrictions on the number and calibre of nuns. This question will be tackled by examining two areas-Andalusia and Toledo - and by analysing both the contribution made by the Fernández de Córdoba family to female Franciscan houses, and the more diverse sources of Franciscan patronage in the town of Toledo.[5] In this way it is possible to assess whether any regional or class differences existed with regard to the endowment of convents and the social calibre of nuns. Before considering these points, however, some general remarks should be made about the organisation of a Franciscan convent, the dowry-system, and the function of noble and patronage of these communities.[6]

Each of the three Franciscan female orders-the Poor Clares, the Third Order Regular, and the Order of the Immaculate Conception - had its own set of rules or constitutions. There were small differences with regard to the colour of the habits worn by nuns and the degree of asceticism observed, but in general the convents were organised along similar lines. Franciscan nuns took the vows of chastity, poverty and claustration. Permission to leave the cloister was only given in the most exceptional circumstances: for example, if

a nun wished to visit a dying relative. Secular tertiaries and beatas, however, were permitted to leave their convents to attend mass as they did not observe enclosure.[7] Each enclosed community was headed by a superior known as an abbess, with a magistra or 'mother minister' holding an analogous position in a secular tertiary or beata house. The abbess's length in office varied from convent to convent; sometimes she was elected for life, but in the early sixteenth century there was an attempt made to restrict her period in office to three years. [8] Her second-in-command was known as a vicaria, and she frequently succeeded as abbess on the retirement or death of her predecessor. Underneath the vicaria were discretas, some of whom would normally expect to progress to the post of vicaria and eventually to abbess. Other officials of the convent included a portera, procuradora, sacristana, provisora, and mayordoma, all of whom were assigned specific duties within the community and might expect to move up to the rank of discreta. From the evidence of censo and tribute contracts, which often listed the nuns holding the top posts within the convent, it would appear that a community frequently reflected the hierarchy and social values which existed in the outside world. Thus promoted posts within the convent, although theoretically subject to election by vote, became in practice the preserve of nuns from a privileged social background.[9] These nuns, whose names were invariably prefixed by the honorific title of 'doña', were often blood relatives of the convent's patrons and presumably those who also provided the most lucrative dowries. The fundamental division within the

convent was between the literate and illiterate, with the latter being denied access to the choir and an active role in the convent's liturgical services. Instead, they were consigned to the monotonous repetition of the same prayers.[10] All decisions about the disposal of conventual property and the administration of rents and lawsuits were theoretically taken at chapter-meetings held at regular intervals. In practice, however, the more important officials of the convent, comprising the abbess, vicaria and discretas, seem to have taken the policy decisions, with the chapter merely assenting to the decisions taken.

Novices had to be at least sixteen years old before taking their vows.[11] Dress regulations were strict as they were a clear indicator of status within the convent. For example, novices wore a different habit from 'professed' nuns, and newly 'professed' nuns were not permitted to wear a scapulary until they had spent at least one post-noviciate year in the convent. The veil had to cover the nun's head when she was at the grille, unless she was speaking to her parents or brothers and sisters, in which case she was allowed to lift her veil.[12] Nuns had to observe certain dietary regulations at carefully prescribed times of the year. From All Saints' Day to Easter, with the exception of Christmas Day, they were expected to refrain from eating meat; at other times of the year too they might be expected to observe periods of fast and abstinence.

The sacramental duties observed by Franciscan nuns varied

according to the Rule observed. In general terms this meant that the nuns of the Second Order were expected to receive the sacraments of confession and the Holy Eucharist more frequently than, for example, tertiaries or beatas.[13] The Poor Clares normally attended confession once a month, and received the Eucharist seven times a year on the feasts of Christmas, Holy Thursday, Easter Sunday, Pentecost, the Assumption, the feast of St. Francis, and All Saints.[14] Such sacraments were administered by the vicario or the father confessor in the adjoining church. These friars were only permitted to hear confession or give communion inside the convent if any of the nuns were too ill to attend church.

Laypeople were prohibited from entering the convent unless they had received a special licence from the Pope or the nuns' superiors, or if the convent's patron gave them permission. For example, the Archbishop of Toledo and anyone nominated by him was allowed to enter the convent of San Juan de la Penitencia, Toledo, at any time.[15] If a nun wished to speak to anyone at the grille, she had to obtain a licence from the abbess and had to be accompanied by two other nuns to eavesdrop on her conversation.[16]

The everyday lifestyle of the nuns, as mirrored in the statutes or constitutions of the various Franciscan rules, would appear to have been disciplined, ascetic, and highly circumscribed. In particular, hardships and restrictions seem to have been imposed on the nuns in the form of dietary

deprivations. However, we must bear in mind that these constitutions represented an ideal of conventual life which may not have been matched in reality. The repeated attempts by the Franciscan Observants to reform female houses attest to the extent to which the reality fell short of the ideals.

The Dowry System.

Generally speaking, the principal safeguard of a woman's social and economic well-being was her dowry.[17] In addition, a Castilian woman usually enjoyed at least two other financial rights: firstly, her marriage contract contained a financial pledge or security payment from her husband-to-be known as an arras; and, secondly, she was entitled to a legitima, the right to a share in either her father's or her mother's inheritance. Among the upper nobility the amount of money, property, and income a woman could derive from these three separate sources was substantial. It was in this social stratum, therefore, that careful regulations were laid down governing the calculation and administration of a woman's dowry, Not only were the nobility assiduous in safeguarding the financial and property rights of their marriageable female relatives, but also of those who adopted a religious vocation. For although the Church had attempted to stamp out the practice of convents always demanding a dowry from prospective nuns, in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Castile 'Brides of Christ' were still expected to donate a dowry to the convent.[18] Inside the convent walls the rights a woman exercised over her dowry were

seriously curtailed. Whereas her marriageable sister retained inalienable rights over her dowry, taking it with her on the death of her husband, the nun was usually obliged to renounce these rights, unless a contract was drawn up stating otherwise. In this way, the dowries of rich, aristocratic women were incorporated into the convent's estate, a factor which was obviously influential in the acceptance of suitable recruits for particular communities.

The value of a nun's dowry varied according to her own status and also, it would appear, according to the social standing of the institution entered. Dowries could range in value from perhaps a vineyard or a small annual censo on some urban property to the extremely large sum of 630.000 mrs offered to the convent of Calabazanos by the Marquis of Priego for his sister, doña María Puertocarrero.[19] It was also possible for women to negotiate a reduction in the dowry fee in exchange for carrying out domestic duties within the convent.[20] Among the nobility dowries often took the form of hard cash and a 'trousseau' or ajuar consisting of jewellery, clothes, brocades, silks, and bedclothes. Other women entering convents were less likely to bring jewellery, offering instead altar cloths, paintings and other religious artefacts.

During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, a new trend emerged in the composition and administration of women's dowries. In Gerbet's study of the Extremaduran nobility, she notes that up to the mid-fifteenth century dowries were invariably paid in hard cash; in the second half of the

fifteenth century, dowries were beginning to be calculated in terms of maravedis or money of account, and were paid in the form of rents and juros.[21] Also, at the same time, the nobility were beginning to merge the women's dowry and legitima into the same financial package. Thus, noblewomen, on marriage or on entering a convent, were being given an exta large dowry, which included a notional amount for their legitima, and were being asked in effect to renounce any further claim on their parent's patrimony.[22] Moreover with dowries being reckoned in terms of rents and juros rather than in cash, payments were increasingly made by instalments.[23] These changes in the dowry system were in part a reflection of the rising cost of dowries, at a time when the nobility were finding it difficult to raise large sums of money, and partly an attempt by the nobility to preserve the major part of their estate in the mayorazgo which passed on to the eldest son. One can surmise that noblewomen who adopted a religious habit were the most vulnerable victims of these changes. Obviously, the nobility were reluctant for a portion of their patrimony to become in effect ecclesiastical property, simply because their female relatives had chosen a religious vocation. This explains the tendency, in the early sixteenth century, for prospective nuns to draw up and sign a 'letter of renunciation' whereby, in exchange for a larger dowry (incorporating the legitima), they agreed to make no further financial claims on their family.[24]

'C'est la dot, bien sûr,' a recent article pointed out, 'qui

noue le destin de la femme...'.[25] The woman's dowry was indissolubly linked to the person of the woman, and was her protection in societies based on a system of patrilineage, such as Castile. Among the upper nobility, a woman's ancestral worth was acknowledged by the practice of children adopting either the mother's, or the maternal grandparents' surnames.[26] However, this was in a way a superfluous source of social and political prestige, a 'luxury item' bestowed on female children or younger sons, as the surname of the new pariente mayor was always that of the father.[27] A noblewoman entering a convent, thus becoming a non-productive member of the lineage, was disinheriting herself and donating her only source of status and income to her convent. Therefore, one would expect her male relatives to have erected certain safeguards for her future welfare to compensate her for her loss in social and economic prestige.

An analysis of the role of the Castilian nobility and patriciate with regard to female Franciscan communities should provide some useful insights into the nature and extent of noble patronage, the size of dowries offered by celibate noblewomen, and the ways in which these noble nuns added to the spiritual prestige of the lineage.

Elite Patronage of Franciscan Convents.

The role of the Castilian elite as patrons of the Franciscan Order has already been analysed above with regard to the friars, and certain reasons adduced for this apparently

paradoxical alliance between a privileged social group and an Order dedicated to poverty.[28] As far as the female branches of the Order are concerned, a similar web of social, political and spiritual interests can be discerned between noble patrons and female religious, although certain practices pertaining only to female houses give the impression that the influence of patrons here was more open and direct. The first practice was a straight forward financial one: patrons were able to donate properties and rents to Franciscan convents, and thus retain a certain influence over a particular foundation, whereas the imposition of an Observant regime on friaries had resulted in the selling off of regular sources of income, such as censos, juros and alcabalas.[29] The beneficiaries of this more rigorous interpretation of the vow of poverty by the friars would appear to have been their female counterparts who now found themselves the recipients of incomes which, in earlier times, would have been earmarked for the friars.[30] The practice of retaining the family name after the taking of vows also provides a clear illustration of the close relationship between a convent's patron and those nuns holding promoted posts within that community. As we have noted before, friars usually adopted the name of their birthplace or of the province in which they took their vows after the completion of their noviciate. This practice, like St. Francis' casting off of his clothes in front of his father, symbolised the 'professed' friar's rejection of family ties and temporal values. Nuns, on the other hand, seemed to have retained their family name and also honorific prefixes, such as

'señora doña' or 'muy noble doña'. The use of a 'religious' surname begins to become increasingly widespread as the sixteenth century progresses, in particular in convents which followed an Observant, ascetic regime.[31] The fortunate persistence of family surnames, however, allows the historian to see the correlation between noble and patrician patronage of a particular community and the appointment of blood relatives or kinswomen as 'officials' of the same. Indeed, some foundation charters stipulated the names of those families whose members were to be accorded precedence of entry. For example, a Franciscan tertiary house in Salamanca gave preference to prospective novices from the Azevedo, Fonseca and Ulloa families. If no woman came forward from these families, then the Maldonado family was allowed to present candidates. Failing this, other 'suitable' women were asked to come forward.[32] On the other hand, other convents founded during this period took precautionary measures, which were written into their foundation charters, to ensure that one family or set of families did not exert undue influence. The tertiary house of San Juan de la Penitencia in Toledo, for example, did not permit the entry of two sisters from the same family.[33] The Toledo convent of St. Michael accepted a maximum of four women related to the founding patron within the fourth degree of consanguinity.[34] Whether these conditions were inserted into the foundation charter on the request of the patron or of the Papacy is unknown. Nevertheless, the precision with which degrees of consanguinity were specified, and which, interestingly, parallel the canonical rules laid down for

marriage within the permitted degree, illustrates that some convents at least were aware of the possible dangers inherent in 'inbreeding'.

The main motives behind the founding and endowment of a convent were piety and prestige.[35] Although it may seem rather paradoxical, the piety practised by the Castilian elite with regard to patronage of Franciscan convents was both materialist and self-regarding, thus making it difficult to disentangle their piety from their equally conspicuous pursuit of prestige. Convents were built near or in the casa solar of a particular dynasty, and perhaps in other towns of the señorío. The mushrooming of Franciscan convents in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries also hints at a political dimension to patronage. The evident attachment of Isabel the Catholic to the Franciscan Order may have encouraged further investment in the Order by those seeking royal favour.[36] The examination of noble patronage in Andalusia below will show that to some extent the foundation of a convent within a señorío became in effect a symbol of a family's social, political, and spiritual prestige, a sign of their acceptance within the upper ranks of Castilian society. The presence of female relatives within a convent, therefore, could only add to the patron's lustre and esteem - living symbols, as it were, of their family's devoutness and piety. The establishment of chantries and family pantheons within Franciscan convents also served to enhance the prestige and honour of the lineage in the after-

life, and imbued its deceased members with a type of immortality in the present. The establishment of a Franciscan convent, staffed with female relatives and endowed with chantries and family pantheon, thus served the function of glorifying both the present and the past of a dynasty.

The House of Aguilar.[37]

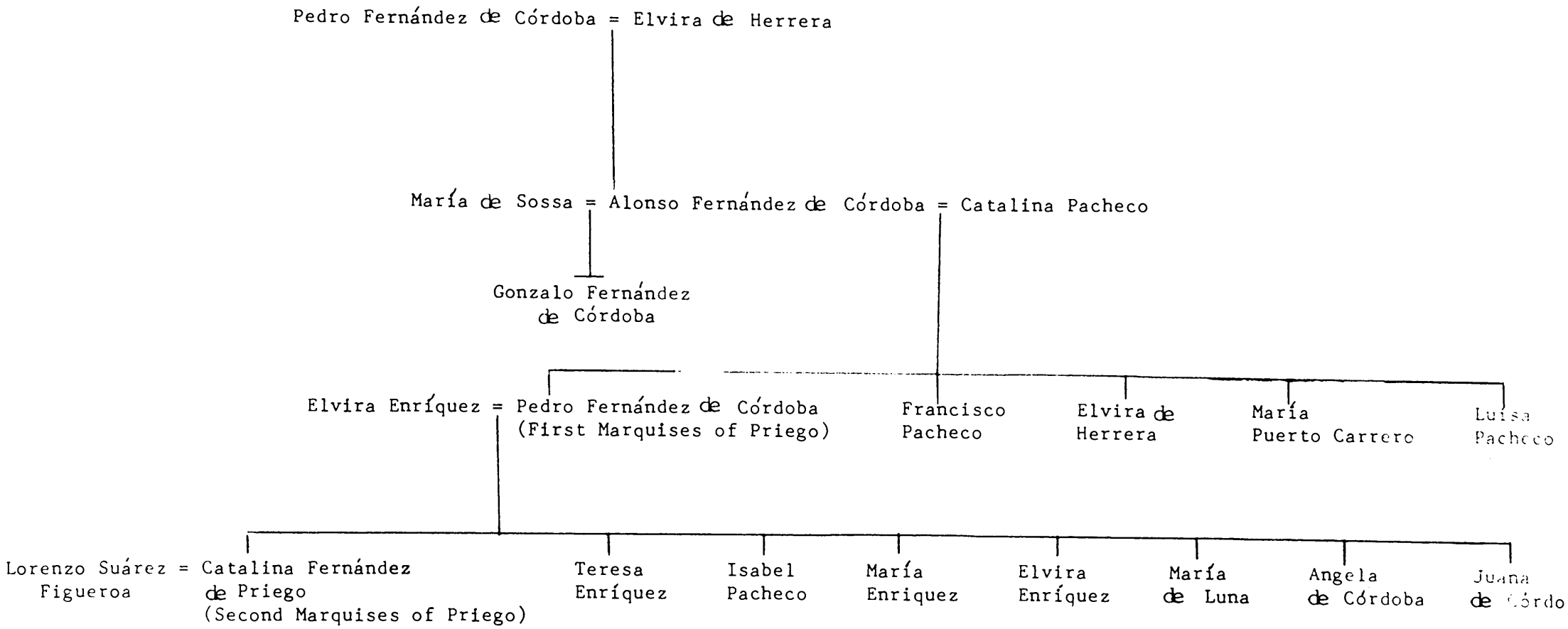
The children and grandchildren of don Alonso de Aguilar and doña Catalina Pacheco provided patronage of, and recruits for, the Franciscan Order at both a local and national level. Also active in this respect was the family of the Marquis of Villena, brother of doña Catalina Pacheco. These two families were from the titulo or upper ranks of the Castilian nobility. The political fortunes of the House of Aguilar had improved dramatically in the second half of the fifteenth century, due in large part to the contribution made by Alonso de Aguilar to the conquest of the kingdom of Granada. He was given the title of Marquis of Priego posthumously in 1501 in recognition of his service to the Crown.[38] His marriage to a Pacheco in 1475 is a reliable indicator of his social and political prestige, as the latter was among the most powerful families in Castile. He bequeathed to his son, don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, a mayorazgo which included jurisdiction over several towns in Andalusia.[39] The latter also married into one of the top families in Castile - his wife being doña Elvira Enríquez, whose family were Admirals of Castile and who were related to Ferdinand the Catholic through the

latter's mother who was an Enríquez. On his death in 1517, the Marquis of Priego bequeathed an estate worth eighteen million maravedis to his eldest daughter.

Two out of the three daughters of Alonso de Aguilar and Catalina Pacheco became Franciscan nuns in Ecija and in Calabazanos, near Palencia.[40] Fortunately detailed information has survived on both women - in the will and testament of doña Elvira de Herrera, who took her vows in Ecija, and in a lawsuit regarding the dowry of doña María de Puertocarrero, the Calabazanos nun.[41] Let us first examine the information that has survived on the former.

The last will and testament of doña Elvira de Herrera was drawn up in August 1502, presumably shortly before she took her vows in Santa Inés del Valle in Ecija. There is some evidence to suggest that she entered the convent in unusual circumstances. A sixteenth-century chronicler alluded to her earlier marriage to don Fadrique Enríquez de Ribera, Adelantado of Andalusia and Marquis of Tarifa.[42] Apparently the marriage was annulled after a long and difficult lawsuit, with the Adelantado remaining unmarried and doña Elvira becoming a nun. This annullment must have created some difficulties for her family, who would have been anxious to safeguard her financial and property rights. As doña Elvira pointed out in her will, the marriage had produced no children, and so she named her mother, doña Catalina Pacheco, as her immediate heir.[43] Her brother, don Pedro Fernández de

THE HOUSE OF AGUILAR



Córdoba, was responsible for his sister's goods and hacienda and was nominated as one of the executors of her will.[44]

Doña Elvira's will provides a detailed illustration of the extent to which the Franciscan Order was the main beneficiary of patronage. Most of her bequests were made to male and female Franciscan houses in Ecija, Córdoba, and other parts of Andalusia. The only other religious order which merits a mention was that of the Jeronymites in Guadalupe, who received five hundred reales to say one thousand masses for the repose of her soul.[45] Moreover, not only was her patronage Franciscan-oriented but her religious sensibility was also channelled towards Franciscan cults and devotions. For example, in the retablo she had commissioned for a Franciscan convent, she specified that the Virgin and Child were to be surrounded by depictions of the feasts of the Immaculate Conception, the Incarnation, the Visitation, the Ascension, the birthday of the Virgin Mary, and St. Francis and St. Clare.[46]

The convent of Santa Inés received 100.000 mrs in cash from doña Elvira, which was to be used to enlarge the choir. She also donated a bed valued at 70.000 mrs, bedclothes and an alcalifa, worth ten thousand mrs and two thousand mrs respectively, and assorted sheets, cloths, cushions, and jewellery. In return for this dowry and trousseau, the nuns were obliged to have a mass and a vigil said on the feasts of the Nativity and Immaculate Conception on doña Elvira's behalf for the three years following the taking of her vows.[47] The friars

in Ecija were also given 100.000 mrs which were to be used to finish their dormitory.[48] She asked that one thousand masses be said for the soul of her father in Franciscan friaries throughout Andalusia, with a half real to be given in alms for each mass.[49] The nuns of St. Clare in Córdoba were given 80.000 mrs, blankets, sheets, curtains, jewels, and wheat, and fifty thousand mrs were donated to the Córdoba friary for the construction of a library.[50]

The largest amount of money, however, was destined for the construction of a new female Franciscan house in the Córdoba parish where don Alonso de Aguilar was buried. Two million mrs. were handed over to her mother, doña Catalina Pacheco, for this purpose, and construction was to begin one month after doña Elvira took her vows. If, for some reason, the convent could not be built there, then it was to be built in another part of Córdoba, chosen by her mother, or the money was to be used to repair and rebuild the convent of Santa Clara in Córdoba.[51] The Marquis of Priego, who had been given one million and two hundred and fifty thousand mrs on his mother's behalf, was asked to buy some houses beside the convent of Santa Clara in Córdoba so that doña Catalina Pacheco could take up residence there.[52] Jewellery and a book of hours, which the Marquis had offered doña Elvira as security for a loan of 315.000 mrs, was to be retained by doña Catalina until the Marquis had repaid his loan. This money was to be used for the establishment of two chaplaincies in doña Elvira's new foundation and the chaplains, who

were to be given 12.000 mrs per annum, were placed under the jurisdiction of the abbess, and were obliged to say twenty masses every month.[53] However, doña Elvira's proposed foundation never came to fruition, and one assumes that her bequest was used to carry out repairs to the convent of Santa Clara in Córdoba. Interestingly, her mother, who died the year after doña Elvira entered the convent in Ecija, also left 1.250.000 mrs for the construction of a Franciscan convent or friary in either Priego or Montilla.[54] This was the exact sum of money handed over to the Marquis of Priego by doña Elvira for the purchase of some houses adjoining the convent of Santa Clara, where their mother had intended to take up residence.

In November 1502 agreements were drawn up between the Ecija nuns and, on behalf of doña Elvira de Herrera, don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, in which the latter confirmed the financial arrangement his sister had made before taking her vows.[55] In return, the abbess and nuns of Santa Inés confirmed the 'donations' which doña Elvira had made to the convent, and formally renounced any claim to the goods and property which she owned before entering the convent.[56] More importantly, the convent corporately renounced the rights to any property or incomes which doña Elvira had inherited from her father, or might inherit, in the future, from her mother:

> '...henceforth they renounced and have renounced ... both the goods which she was entitled to through the death of her father, don Alonso, may he rest in peace, and ... the goods and inheritance which

could belong to her through her mother, the señora doña Catalina Pacheco...'[57]

This seems to be an example of the phenomenon described by Gerbet, with regard to late fifteenth-century Extremadura, of noblewomen receiving their dowry and legitima in one payment.

Doña Elvira's last will and testament, drawn up on her withdrawal from the secular world, graphically illustrates the extent to which her religious sensibility had been 'Franciscanised'. Moreover, the large amount of money she bequeathed for the construction of a new Franciscan convent in the Córdoba parish where her father was buried suggests that she intended to establish a family pantheon there, and, eventually, perhaps, a lineage convent. Her will also specifies very clearly how and when her estate was to be divided up, and what measures were to be taken to safeguard the loans she had made to her brother, the Marquis of Priego. The exactitude with which the terms of her will were set down demonstrates that the financial rights of noblewomen were taken very seriously indeed.

Not only were individual noblewomen assiduous in the upholding of their financial and property rights but so too were corporate institutions, such as convents. The episode of the dowry of doña María Puertocarrero, sister of doña Elvira de Herrera, illustrates this most clearly.[58] The nuns of Calabazanos spent ten years in litigation against the Marquis of Priego, attempting to exact payment of his sister's

dowry. A convent of nuns which took on, and ultimately won their case against, one of the most powerful nobles in Castile, deserves closer investigation. Who were these nuns, and why were they so tenacious in their lawsuit against the Marquis of Priego?

The Franciscan convent of Santa María de la Consolación in Calabazanos was no ordinary convent. It had been founded in 1449 by doña Leonora de Castille, wife of the Andelantado of Castile, don Pedro Manrique. Between 1449 and 1458 the community was housed in Amusco, moving in 1458 to Calabazanos, near Palencia.[59] The convent soon attracted a large number of noblewomen, including doña Leonora, after the death of her husband, and two of her daughters, one of whom became abbess, the other vicaria.[60] This pattern of patronage and recruitment of female relatives was fairly common among the Castilian nobility, as was the practice of widows entering convents. Female relatives through marriage also tended to enter these foundations after the death of their husbands. For example, in 1462, doña Beatriz de Guzmán, Countess of Paredes, widow of don Rodrigo Manrique, obtained a papal licence to enter Calabazanos where her mother-in-law and sisters-in-law were nuns.[61] In this way certain convents developed into mutual self-protection societies for unmarried and widowed noblewomen. Male relatives also had a role to play both in the administrative and cultural lives of these communities. For example, doña Leonora's son, don Diego Manrique, Bishop of Coria, was required to 'screen' and select novices for

Calabazanos should the number of inmates ever exceed fifty.[62] Another son, Gómez Manrique, poet and later corregidor of Toledo, composed a Nativity play, entitled Representación del nacimiento de Nuestro Señor, for the Calabazanos nuns - a play which the nuns reputedly performed themselves every year.[63] Thus, family and kinship ties operated at several interlocking levels in the patronage and administration of a religious foundation: the patron supplied property, money, and goods in the form of dowries and alms; inmates were recruited from the immediate and extended family circle; male relatives contributed to the administrative, advisory, and cultural aspects of the convent; and,frequently, the conventual church was chosen as the family pantheon. When viewed in this light, the convent of Calabazanos, rather than functioning merely as a dumping ground for surplus Manrique women, appears to have served a more complex function of cementing and reinforcing group and kin solidarities both before and after death.[64]

When doña Maria Puertocarrero became a nun in Calabazanos, the convent was still very much a Manrique stronghold. In 1517, out of a total of forty nuns, there were eight women with this surname.[65] Moreover, these Manrique women monopolised the top posts within the convent. For example, in 1507, the abbess was doña Catalina Manrique, the vicaria was doña María Manrique de Mendoza, and three of the six discretas were Manriques.[66] In this same year, doña María de Puertocarrero was also listed as a discreta under her 'religious'

surname of María de la Cruz. This place in the convent hierarchy would suggest that her dowry was fairly substantial. An examination of the dowry of María Puertocarrero, therefore, should provide further evidence of the size of dowries being offered to convents by the titulo nobility in the early sixteenth century.

As we have noted above, doña Elvira de Herrera, the sister of doña María Puertocarrero, brought with her to Santa Inés in Ecija a dowry worth 172.000 mrs and a 'trousseau' of sheets, pillows, cloths, and jewels of an unspecified value. All the elements of her sister's dowry, however, were given a value in cash terms. The dowry amounted to 600.000 mrs in money, a silver lamp valued at 9.000 mrs, oil for the lamp to the value of 12.000 mrs, and a small retablo worth 9.000 mrs.[67] The Marquis of Priego, doña Maria's brother, was responsible for the payment of this amount, and had been appointed executor of her will. In 1501, don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba had drawn up a pleito homenaje in which he pledged to hand over 300.000 mrs to a servant to be delivered to the nuns in Calabazanos.[68] The balance of 330.000 mrs was to be paid when his sister took her vows. This indicated that doña María Puerocarrero had commenced her one year's noviciate sometime that year. However, by autumn 1506, the Calabazanos nuns were still awaiting payment from the Marquis who had resorted to a variety of devices in order to try and pay off his debt.[69] Initially he offered the convent a juro worth 40.000 mrs annually which was assigned on royal revenues in

Jaén.[70] However, before this transfer could be effected, a special licence had to be sought from the king as the juro was a fiscal privilege granted by the Crown. But during this period the Marquis of Priego played the leading part in an open revolt against Ferdinand the Catholic, which resulted in his exile from Andalusia, the confiscation of his goods, and the destruction of the casa solar at Montilla.[71] In these circumstances it is hardly surprising that a royal licence was not forthcoming, and that the Marquis was unable to pay his sister's dowry. The solution offered by the Marquis to this 'cash-flow crisis' was to 'sell' another juro to the Calabazanos nuns. This juro was worth 38.000 mrs annually, assigned on royal taxes on meat and livestock in Córdoba, the selling price being 16.500 mrs for each 1.000 mrs of juro.[72] The nuns would therefore receive the equivalent of a one-off payment of 627.000 mrs in the form of a juro which brought in an annual income of 38.000 mrs. On paper this was most advantageous to the nuns as the dowry would have been paid in full after approximately eighteen years, and the convent would continue to receive 38.000 mrs per annum in perpetuity. In practice, however, the 'purchase' of this juro was beset with juridical and logistical problems. One obstacle was that the juro was part of one owned by the Marquis' brother, don Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba, comendador of the Order of Calatrava, who was supposed to seek a licence from his superiors before selling off part of the juro.[73] Also, as this was a perpetual juro, rather than one assigned for a fixed period, royal permission had to be granted for its transfer. For

these reasons, the Calabazanos nuns found it difficult to exact payments from the appropriate tax-farmer, and were forced to take their lawsuit to Queen Juana.[74] Despite a royal decree in 1511, ordering the Córdoba arendadores to pay the nuns the amount outstanding on the meat and livestock alcabalas for the years 1508-11, the nuns were still left unpaid.[75] In 1513, the Marquis sent the nuns fifty arrobas of oil from Aguilar, valued at 125 mrs per arroba, as part-payment for his sister's dowry.[76]

The issue of the dowry remained unresolved until after the death of the Marquis in 1517 when agreement was reached with his successor, doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba.[77] For the previous five years and eight months, up to August 1517, the nuns had received no payments from the juro, a financial loss calculated at 215.333½ mrs. The Marquis had already paid them 66.300 mrs in compensation, so that they were still owed 149.033½ mrs for the losses incurred over this period. The nuns also decided to 'sell' the juro back to doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba for the original price of 627.000 mrs. The issue of doña Maria Puertocarrero's dowry was finally brought to an end with a large cash settlement being made to the nuns, but only after repeated attempts to collect juro payments and almost sixteen years of litigation.

It is interesting to examine the care taken by the nuns in drawing up this financial agreement with the Marquesa of Priego.[78] Chapter meetings were held daily between the 12

November and the 14 November 1517 and were attended by between thirty four and forty nuns. The nuns were convoked by the ringing of the Church bell, and assembled behind the grille of the convent.[79] At the other side of the gate were the mayordomo of the nuns, the public scribe, the criado of the Marquesa of Priego, and witnesses who had been specially summoned for these meetings.[80] The grievances of the nuns were catalogued by the scribe, and witnesses such as the nuns' vicario and mayordomo testified to the difficulties the nuns had experienced in trying to recover money from Córdoba.[81] The mayordomo, Francisco de Zorita, pointed out that the nuns had sent special envoys to Córdoba to no effect, and that there was little guarantee of the nuns ever recovering the money as the juro had never been confirmed by royal privilege, and because the Marquises of Priego were such powerful people in this part of Andalusia.[82] At all stages in the hearing the façade of a 'democracy' within the convent was maintained:

> '... and now they wanted to go back, and look at, and discuss (the issue) again with all the nuns in the convent, and they would deliberate on it, and say what they thought and what agreement they came to ....[83]

As a result of these various debates, two tracts were drawn up and presented to the abbess, who was entitled to give her vote first.[84] Doña Catalina Manrique, the abbess, outlined several reasons why she though it would be in the community's best interests to settle for a cash payment from the Marquesa of Priego. After this, the discretas gave their vote and an agreement was finally reached over the protracted issue of the dowry of doña María Puertocarrero.[85]

The episode of the dowry illustrates the persistence and tenacity of this convent of nuns in the pursuit of their rights. They went to great lengths in order to procure payment, sending messengers to Córdoba at regular intervals, and seeking redress in the Royal Council. All these actions suggest a strong and powerful coporate identity, a community of albeit privileged nuns willing to take on the most powerful groups in Castile.

As we have noted, one sister of the Marquis of Priego entered a convent which was geographically distant from her family seat, whilst another took her religious vows in a 'local' convent, in Ecija. The next generation of the Fernández de Córdoba followed the latter option of following their religious vocation closer to home, but with one important difference. They, unlike their aunt, doña Elvira de Herrera, were able to found and endow Franciscan convents in towns belonging to the Marquisate of Priego: in Montilla in 1525, and in Aguilar in 1566.[86] This development, the foundation of convents more directly under the control of the Fernández de Córdoba family, is perhaps a reflection of the growing territorial power of the family in this area of Andalusia.[87]

The marriage of don Pedro Fernández de Cordoba and doña Elvira Enríquez, the first Marquises of Priego, had produced eight children, all of whom were female.[88] Two of the daughters became Franciscan nuns and a third remained unmarried, founding a female Franciscan house in Aguilar.[89] The predomin-

ance of females in this generation of the Fernández de Córdoba clan perhaps explains why their spiritual energies were directed towards the establishment of female rather than male Franciscan houses.

In 1513, doña Isabel Pacheco, acting through her curador, Gonzalo de Córdoba, renounced any claims to her father's inheritance in exchange for a 'dowry' of 500.000 mrs.[90] The convent doña Isabel had chosen to enter was Santa Isabel de los Angeles in Baza, a town which had only recently been reconquered from the Moors of Granada. The convent was founded by don Enrique Enríque, uncle and mayordomo mayor of Ferdinand the Catholic, and doña María de Luna, and, like many other contemporary female foundations, was named after Isabel the Catholic.[91] One assumes that this particular convent was chosen by doña Isabel because of blood ties with the founding patrons, presumably on the side of her mother, doña Elvira Enríquez.[92]

Despite the financial difficulties of the Marquis of Priego in 1513, one should not readily assume that doña Isabel was seeking a religious vocation because it was a cheaper option than contracting a suitable marriage. She stated unequivocally that it was her personal wish and decision to become a nun in Baza:

> '...I wish to enter the monastery of Santa Isabel de los Angeles in the town of Baza, which belongs to the Order of St. Clare. I have communicated this wish many times to you the said Marquis, my lord, and I have

> asked and beseeched with great fervour that your lordship gives me a licence to do this....'[93]

Her dowry of 500.000 mrs was composed of the following elements: 200.000mrs were to be paid cash; a further 200.000mrs were to be paid through an annual rent of 20.000 mrs on casas mesones and dyehouses in the town of Cañete; and 100.000mrs' worth of silk and brocade vestments for the 'divine offices', as well as woollen and linen cloths for the sick bay, were donated to the Baza convent. Of this sum, 300.000 mrs had been bequeathed to doña Isabel, as her legitima, by her mother, doña Elvira Enríquez, who had died the previous year. The remainder from her father, worth 200.000mrs but payable in annual rents of 20.000 mrs constituted the equivalent of her legitima.[94] In other words, she was not offered a separate amount as her dowry but was given only the legitima portion from her parents' patrimony. It was thus her legitima rather than a dowry proper which she took with her to Baza. She did not donate all of it to the Baza convent; in her 'letter of renunciation', which she had drawn up before she entered Baza, the annual rent of 20.000 mrs was specifically excluded from the amount handed over to the abbess and nuns of Santa Isabel de los Angeles.[95] She reserved the right to take this annual rent with her should she ever decide to transfer to another convent, a move which she did in fact make in 1525 when she transferred to her sister's convent in Montilla.[96]

The convent of Santa Clara was founded by doña María de Luna,

another of the daughters of the first Marquises of Priego, in the town of Montilla, the casa solar of the House of Aguilar. The initiative for the founding of this Franciscan house did not come from doña María but from her paternal grandmother, doña Catalina Pacheco. As we have noted above, the latter had left 1.250.000 mrs in her will for the construction of a friary or convent in either Priego or Montilla.[97] Her son, don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, had begun to build a male house next to his palace in Montilla.[98] However, when the marquisate was passed on to his eldest daughter, it was deemed more appropriate to transform the nascent community into a female convent. It was in these circumstances that doña María de Luna decided to endow the convent.

Doña María de Luna was a novice in the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara in Andújar. When the time came for her to take her vows, she and eight other nuns transferred to the convent in Montilla where she was joined by her sister, doña Isabel, and two other nuns from Baza.[99] Thus, in 1525, there were approximately twelve Franciscan nuns in Montilla. In July of that year doña María took her vows and at the same time, as was the custom, her last will and testament was read aloud. The male friars, whose building the Montilla nuns were then occupying, were given 500.000mrs from her estate to compensate them for their loss.[100] The precise amount allocated by doña María to the Montilla convent is unknown. However, as she decided to become a nun after the death of her father, she presumably inherited a sizeable amount of money and property

as her dowry and legitima. Comparisons with her sister's endowment of a Franciscan convent in Aguilar in 1566 should provide some indication of the scale of patronage involved in the Montilla foundation.

The foundation of the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Coronada in Aguilar marked another step in the process of Franciscan 'colonisation' of this area of Andalusia. There is no evidence to suggest that the founding patron, doña Teresa Enríquez, became a nun in Aguilar. She apparently remained unmarried as, in an appendix to the foundation document for Aguilar, she nominated her nephew, don Alonso Fernández de Cordoba, Marquis of Priego, as the holder of the patronazgo of the convent.[101] She was, nonetheless, an extremely pious woman who, chroniclers relate, lived in a type of retreat between her sister's palace and her other sister's convent in Montilla.[102] In other words, she lived as an emparedada rather than as a regular nun.

The foundation document for Aguilar provided detailed information on the financial structure of the convent, the social calibre of the nuns, and the special conditions laid down by the patron. As such, the Aguilar convent serves as a valuable example of an archetypal, titulo lineage convent in sixteenth century Castile.[103]

The cost of setting up a religious community must have been considerable. Doña Teresa Enríquez donated several of her own properties which housed the main body of the convent.

These houses adjoined the church of the Coronada and other properties belonging to doña Teresa.[104] She also donated to the convent the equivalent of 1.399.990 mrs which was paid in the form of censo annuities amounting to 100.000 mrs per annum; several parcels of land attached to various cortijos, which yielded a certain amount annually in wheat and barley; rents worth 13.416½ mrs annualy, levied on urban and rural property; a house for the convent's father confessor, along with his annual salary of 5.000 mrs and ten fanegas of wheat; a contribution of 2.000 mrs per annum towards the sacristan's salary; oil and wine for the sustenance of the nuns; paintings, furniture and ornaments for the convent; and fifty ducats in alms which the Marquises of Piego had donated to the adjoining church.[105]

Doña Teresa Enríquez also laid down certain conditions about the number of nuns and the amounts they were obliged to donate as dowries. In Aguilar the number of nuns was limited to thirty, each bringing with her a dowry of at least 500 ducats or 187.500 mrs.[106] The convent was placed under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Córdoba from whom all prospective novices had to receive a licence. In certain cases the convent was permitted to admit up to ten novices without a dowry or, if this number was not reached, up to four doncellas. The convent was also obliged to accept any novice for whom doña Teresa paid the stipulated dowry of 500 ducats. The patron could enter the convent at any time, and no nun was to be sent to Aguilar to do penance.[107] In 1566, eight founding members

were transferred from the convent of La Encarnación in Granada to the new Franciscan house in Aguilar.

Approximately half of the annual income of the Aguilar house was derived from censo payments.[108] Such censo payments could be the result of a credit system in which cash loans were raised, with urban properties or rural smallholdings as security, in return for an annual rent or censo proportionate to the value of the property or the loan. This method of raising loans was widespread in sixteenth-century Castile, and was used primarily by peasants and artisans. The creditors were usually nobles, the urban middle classes, and ecclesiastical institutions. Doña Teresa Enríquez listed eighty eight people who had borrowed amounts varying between 2.500 mrs and 100 ducats or 37.500 mrs.[109] Interest accruing on these loans was approximately 7.14%, and the security offered on the loans were smallholdings, vineyards, and olive groves in the countryside around Aguilar, or on property within the town.[110] More than half the debtors were married couples, one loan was given to two women, with the rest being single or widowed men. The occupations of these debtors included a potter, tanner, apothecary, escribano, stonemason, and a blacksmith. The surnames of these debtors in this area of Andalusia were predominantly Old Christian.

The annual contribution of doña Teresa Enríquez to the convent in Aguilar can be seen in the following table:

	Recurring	Multiplier	Principal
Censos:	100.000 mrs	(14:1)	1.400.000 mrs
Rents:	13.945½	(14:1)	196.000
Alms:	18.750	(14:1)	262.500
Confessor:	5.000	(14:1)	70.000
Sacristan:	2.000	(14:1)	28.000
	139.695½ mrs		1.956.000 mrs
Pan Terciado:	598 fanegas of wheat, and 210 fanegas and 9 celemines of barley.		
Provisions:	20 arrobas of oil, 12 arrobas of wine.		

Using Aguilar as a model, therefore, the annual running costs to the patron, excluding pan terciado, wine, and oil, was approximately 140.000 mrs for a convent housing thirty nuns, each paying an entrance fee of 500 ducats. We shall see below how this compares with other female Franciscan foundations in sixteenth-century Castile.

In conclusion, the lineage of the House of Aguilar between c 1500 and c 1566 provides a valuable case study of the nature and extent of Franciscan patronage in this area of Castile. In the early years of the sixteenth century the sister of the Marquis of Priego, doña María Puertocarrero, entered a religious foundation in the distant convent of Calabazanos, which was under the influence if the Manrique de Lara lineage; by 1566, the Fernández de Córdoba were able to found and

endow two female houses in their family lands, one in Montilla and one in Aguilar. In addition, the coventual church of Aguilar was designated the burial place for the pariente mayor of the dynasty.[111] During the same period, the family witnessed an increase in their political and economic power, suffering a temporary set-back after the abortive rebellion of don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba. This rise can be charted by examining the marriage alliances of successive generations Concentrating on the main line, don Alonso de Aguilar married doña Catalina Pacheco in 1475, and she brought with her a dowry worth 3 million mrs. The wife of the first Marquis of Priego, Doña Elvira Enríques, received a dowry of 8 million mrs in 1494. Finally in 1518, doña Catalina Fernández de Córdoba received a patrimony at 18 million mrs for her marriage to don Lorenzo de Figueroa, Count of Feria.[112] The example of the House of Aguilar suggests a certain correlation between an increase in social and political prestige and greater investment in spiritual and welfare projects. the erection and endowment of a family convent in the family lands seems to have been the ultimate status symbol among the Castilian titulo class. The choice of the Franciscan Order is surprising. It is a strange paradox that a convent belonging to an order dedicated to poverty should have become the symbol of the social and political prestige of the titled nobility.

The House of Villena.

Moving further north to New Castile, let us examine another

example of titulo patronage of a female Franciscan foundation. The endogamous marriage customs of the upper nobility created networks of social and political alliances among the Castilian elite, and also seem to have coloured their preference for a particular religious order and for the dispensation of patronage. The Pacheco family - the Marquises of Villena and later Dukes of Escalona - was linked though marriage to the House of Aguilar, and, like the latter, showed an evident attachment to the Franciscan Order in their family lands.[113] Like their relatives in Andalusia, several of the Pacheco women adopted a religious vocation, and their parents founded and endowed a Franciscan convent in Escalona, the casa solar of the dynasty. Don Diego López de Pacheco, Marquis of Villena, Duke of Escalona, and mayordomo mayor of the Casa Real of Castile, was one of the pre-eminent political figures of the time.[114] The lands under his jurisdiction stretched from Murcia in the south-east to Escalona in New Castile, a territorial unit which Isabel the Catholic had tried to dismantle after Pacheco had given his support to the 'Juanista' cause in the 1470s. By the early sixteenth century the Marquis' political and territorial power was centred on Escalona and the surrounding countryside. The Pacheco family had a long tradition of supporting Franciscan monasteries and convents: the parents of don Diego López de Pacheco had been members of the Third Order of St. Francis, and both he and his wife, doña Juana Enríquez, were the patrons of many monasteries and convents.[115] No fewer than four of their daughters became Franciscan nuns or nuns of the Immaculate Conception, a new order in Castile which was closely linked with the Franciscan

Order.[116] Doña Francisca Pacheco and doña Juana Enríquez became nuns in the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Santa Concepción situated outside the walls of Escalona.[117] This convent was founded by the women's parents in 1527 and seems to have developed out of a primitive beaterio which was known under its popular name of 'las Gasquinas'.[118] The leading figure in this community of beatas was the eponymous Francisca Gasquina, a woman renowned for her saintly lifestyle.[119] One seventeenth-century chronicler related that the Escalona convent had been founded and endowed by the Marquises of Villena in order to entice these beatas into adopting a more regular religious lifestyle:

> '... in order to persuade the Gasquinas, and she of Retamal, that they adopt a religious habit. He gave his word that he would so dispose of two of his legitimate daughters that they would become nuns, along with their legitimas, if the Gasquinas adopted a religious habit'.[120]

Fortunately, precise details of the Marquises' endowment of the Escalona convent, including the amount offered to these two daughters as their legitima, have survived in a clausula in their last will and testament.[121]

On 9 May 1530, the contents of this clausula were confirmed in the presence of Francisca de Santiago, abbess of the Escalona convent, Magdalena de San Juan, vicaria, and doña Francisca Pacheco and doña Juana Enríquez, discretas. The reasons why the Marquises had chosen to found a convent were stated in the opening sentence.

> '...inasmuch as Our Lord wished to illuminate and infuse with his grace doña Francisca Pacheco and

> doña Juana Enriquez, our daughters, so that leaving the world and its vanities, they should adopt the habit of Our Lady the Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception, and, by doing so they might deserve and enjoy his kingdom and glory, and help us with their prayers, fasts and abstinences and other devotions so that we too might deserve and gain celestial glory, and because this is right inasmuch as because and for them the monastery of the Immaculate Conception was founded in our town of Escalona ...' 122

The foundation of the convent was thus, in the words of the Marquises, essentially a spiritual enterprise to cater for the religious vocation of their daughters. The Marquis and Marquesa of Villena were strongly influenced by contemporary pietistic movements, and in their palace in Escalona they attracted a circle of humanists, alumbrados, and visionaries.[123] Their links with the local Franciscan guardian, Fr. Juan de Olmillos, were particularly close.[124] The latter's eccentric visionary 'performances had caused much scandal in Escalona, but this did not prevent the Marquises from assigning the guardian a special teaching role in their daughters' convent:

> 'What happened at the foundation of this convent was something new and very odd. Nuns did not come from elsewhere for the foundation. Instead it was ordered that the Guardian of San Francisco should teach those devout women to pray, and explain to them the order and rule which they were to follow, as well as recogimiento and religious attitudes'. [125]

The foundation of the Escalona convent was not only a spiritual enterprise but also a financial investment. By assigning their daughters a fixed amount of money as their dowry and legitima combined, the Marquises of Villena were safeguarding the properties and incomes incorporated into the

mayorazgo, which would be passed on to their eldest son. In compensation for their renunciation of any further claims on their parents' estate, doña Francisca Pacheco and doña Juana Enríquez, and by extension their convent, were offered a hereditary juro worth 140.000 mrs annually, assigned on royal revenues in the town of Baza and the surrounding area. The offer was conditional on the Marquises' heir obtaining permission from the Crown to alienate this juro to the convent. If this had not been granted within two years, then the juro was to remain incorporated into the mayorazgo.[126] In compensation the nuns were to be given certain seigneurial rents from Escalona, including revenue taxes from the sale of meat, from smallholdings and properties in the countryside outside Escalona, and a tribute worth eighty fanegas of pan terciado from the village of El Bravo.[127] In addition, a contribution of 4.500 ducats or 1.687.500 mrs was made towards the building of the conventual church and sacristy, with the stipulation that if the building were completed before the death of the Marquises, the contribution was to be reduced to 500 ducats or 187.500 mrs.[128]

The convent was also given expensive textile fabrics and ornamental wall-hangings, articles which were generally included in the 'trousseau' part of nuns dowries. The description of these fabrics indicates something of the nature of the Marquises' own religious sensibilities: eight cloths, which had formerly hung in the oratory of the Marquesa, depicted scenes from the Passion of Christ; five pieces of cloth

which had ben specially ordered from Flanders were also donated to the nuns; for the ceremonies of Holy Week, and in particular for the adornment of the tabernacle, the nuns were given a canopy made from red silk and white damask; finally, they bequeathed a tapestry made from gold and silk depicting the flight of Christ from Egypt, which they had been given by the Marquis' brother, don Alonso Téllez de Girón.[129]

These donations were made to the convent, provided that doña Francisca Pacheco and doña Juana Enríquez renounced any further claims on their parents' patrimony:

> '... I, the said Marquis, taking account of the half of the said wealth listed and declared above, which I thus leave to the said doña Francisca and doña Juana, and through them to the said monastery, and by virtue of the powers which I have to make a mayorazgo of all my possessions, deprive and separate the said doña Francisca and doña Juana from the legitima and succession and inheritance of my possessions which might belong to them, and through them to the said monastery, so that they have no right or any claim to this (inheritance) or part of it, either in terms of moveable or landed property. And if with respect to the legitima of the wealth which might belong to the Marquesa, they might lose more than the other half of the above wealth which she left to them, let it be understood that I, the said Marquis, do not leave to the said doña Francisca and doña Juana, and through them to the said monastery, more than 70.000 mrs of the said juro, and with this I deprive them and separate them from my succession and inheritance, as is stated, and everything else contained in this manda is to count for the legitima which might or may belong to them from the wealth of the said Marquesa ...'[130]

What then was the cost of setting up and endowing the convent in Escalona? As the information surviving is partial, only the following outline can be put forward:

Building of Church and sacristy:	1.687.500 mrs
Juro de Heredad:	140.000 mrs
Juro equivalent:	Rents from the meat-market, shops, ventas and properties in Escalona; the alcabalas on the atajos in Escalona; heredades of Marí García; heredad of Calera; 80 fanegas of pan terciado paid in censo and tributo by the concejo of El Bravo; part of the mill known as 'la chica' in arroyo of Valverdejo; one vine and olive grove near Almoropuelo; a huerta, olive and vine in the huerta of San Avilés; a huerta near Val de Judíos.
'Trousseau':	Assorted cloths, fabrics and wall-hangings.

The cost of a religious vocation for this titulo family appears to have been considerably less than a conventional marriage dowry. Doña Francisca and doña Juana had their dowries and legitimas combined in a financial package worth 140.000 mrs per annum or the equivalent of a one-off payment of 1.960.000 mrs. There aunt, doña Catalina Pacheco, as has been noted above, received a dowry of 3.000.000 mrs for her marriage to don Alonso de Aguilar fifty years previously.[131] Presumably the other two Pacheco woman who became nuns were offered the same kind of financial deal as their sisters. For a relatively modest outlay, therefore, the Marquises of Villena were able to found a family convent and effectively

debar two, or possibly four, claimants to their estate. Titulo patronage of religious houses was therefore not quite as altruistic as it appeared because it provided both an outlet for surplus female relatives, or for those who wished to follow a religious vocation, and it protected the economic power and increased the spiritual prestige of the pariente mayor.

Female Franciscan Houses in Toledo.

Patronage of Franciscan convents was much more diverse in the city of Toledo: titulo influence was more restricted here, convents were less likely to be dependent on one patron, and nuns were drawn from a different social stratum than those in seignorial towns. As mentioned above, there were numerous convents and beaterios in sixteenth-century Toledo. Women formed a clear majority of the regular religious: in a memorial composed in 1576, there were 1.076 women listed as opposed to 418 men. Martz points out that this list excluded the beaterio of La Piedad.[132] Therefore, at this time, female religious outnumbered their male counterparts by almost three to one. The Franciscan Order had seven female houses out of a total of twenty one convents and beaterios by the mid-sixteenth century. On the face of it, then, it would appear that the Franciscans were the most dynamic in attracting recruits and lay patronage. This was true, to a certain extent, but underneath this apparent dynamism there was an element of distortion as three of the new female Franciscan foundations

had developed out of existing beaterios.[133] The three new non-Franciscan foundations in the period up to 1525 had also been communities of beatas.[134] The most popular form of female religious community in Toledo was therefore the beaterio, with the official religious orders merely 'taking them on board' at a later stage. This view is reinforced by the continued survival of two beaterios and the establishment of at least two new communities in the late fifteenth century.[135] The role of the Franciscan Order with regard to the female religious market was thus that of institutionalising or expanding existing communities. The phenomenon of women gathering together in beaterios continued - but, for a while, with decreasing momentum as a result of campaigns to impose a more rigorous observance, which for female communities invariably meant accepting enclosure.

The emergence of seven female Franciscan communities in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries poses several interesting questions. The most obvious one concerns the financing of such a large number of convents belonging to the same Order. One would also like to know more about the 'social catchment' area of Franciscan recruits. Were Franciscan nuns in Toledo drawn from the ranks of the titled nobility as in the case of Calabazanos? How large were their dowries? And, finally, what impact did social and economic factors, such as Inquisitorial persecution and rising prices, have on these Franciscan houses?

The Convent of Santa Clara.

The convent of Santa Clara was the oldest female Franciscan house in Toledo.[136] It was situated in the wealthy parish of San Vicente, near the female Dominican house of Santo Domingo el Real. This parish was the residential area for well-to-do converso merchants from whose ranks many of the city's regidores and some of the jurados were selected.[137] It also housed large numbers of widows and, from 1486, the tribunal of the Holy Office. The convent of Santa Clara had some royal connections, as two illegitimate daughters of Henry II were long-serving abbesses there. It was also in this convent that dona Juaña Enríquez, mother of Ferdinand the Catholic, spent her formative years.[138] Through this convent of Poor Clares, therefore, there was a certain sense of continuity between royal families.

Partial lists of nuns from Santa Clara have survived for the period 1455-1536, and these provide some details about the social background of the nuns.[139] The names which have survived are of women who held the top posts within the convent, such as abbess, vicaria, and discreta. Nothing, therefore, is known of the social status of the rank and file nuns. Using the partial lists from censo contracts and property disputes, a total of forty nine names have come down to us:

Year	No.of Names	Year	No. of Names
1455	4	1484	4
1457	3	1496	1
1461	1	1497	3
1462	2	1502	4
1466	3	1524	6
1471	9	1536	7

(+ two other names from contracts)

Given the fact that women of wealth and status tended to monopolise the promoted posts within the convent, one would have expected a large number of noblewomen to appear on these list. However, only fourteen out of the forty nine names recorded, or 28.57%, were prefixed by the noble title 'doña'. All the abbesses were of noble rank, but the post of vicaria in Santa Clara was frequently held by a non-noble. As Santa Clara was the only female Franciscan house in Toledo up to 1477, the relative absence of noblewomen among its ranks strikes rather an odd note.[140] This suggests that prior to 1477 Toledo noblewomen preferred either to enter houses belonging to other religious orders or to go to other aristocratic Franciscan convents outside Toledo; and that, after this date, Santa Clara was having to compete with several new Franciscan foundations for noble recruits. Noblewomen from the Ayala, Guzmán, and Ribera families appear on these lists but they are outnumbered by those with less prestigious surnames such as Rodríguez, Gutiérrez. Muñoz, and Suárez. The impression that Santa Clara was failing to attract sufficient women of wealth and status is borne out in a letter from the abbess,

doña Beatriz de Portugal, to Cardinal Cisneros in 1513 in which she requested a donation of bread as alms to help the nuns survive the year.[141] Why were the nuns in such a perilous financial position? Were they going through a short-term financial crisis or were their finances structurally unsound? To answer these questions it is necessary to examine the assets and income of the convent during this period.

Usually conventual income was derived from a variety of sources: from dowries brought to the convent by individual nuns; from donations and endowments by patrons; from the payment of censos and tributes on the nuns' urban and rural properties; and from royal privileges or juros. All these properties, rents and incomes were owned corporately by the convent, unless specifically excluded by a nun's will or 'letter of renunciation', and they formed what was known as the mesa capitular. There is no evidence that the convent of Santa Clara ever owned any royal juros, and indeed during this period royal patronage tended to be directed towards convents which accepted the imposition of the regular Observance.[142] Most of the convent's income at this time seems to have been derived from censo or tribute payments, in particular from the vinegrowing areas outside Toledo.

Parcels of land for the cultivation of vines and olives were owned by the nuns in the countryside outside the city walls and in the surrounding villages and hamlets.[143] These lands were held by 'tenants' with either hereditary or fixed-term

leases - for example, for the lifetime of a father and his son. The size of land varied between two and four aranzadas on which was levied an annual censo or tribute of between seven and nine mrs per aranzada. The amount in censo was fixed at the time the lease was issued, and was perhaps set artificially high in order to safeguard against monetary fluctuations. Censo payment varied according to the location and value of the property; for example, in Yunchillos, where most of the land was owned by Toledo convents and monasteries, censo payments were low.[144]

The owners of these leases were predominantly smallholders from the villages outside Toledo or artisans and craftsmen from the city. The latter included shoemakers, butchers, silkweavers, woolweavers, and carders, and also the occasional silversmith, escribano and merchant. Most of the 'tenants' were married couples, but the lease tended to be passed on from father to son rather than mother to daughter. A significant proportion of people selling their leases were widows, presumably because they were unable or unwilling to work on the land themselves or because they were short of money and the type of work open to them was more likely to be in the town rather than the countryside. There is one example of one woman selling property to another: in 1484, Constanza Fernández de Ciros bought the venta known as 'mal abrigo', situated on the Villamiel road, from the widow, Marina de Morales; the purchase price was 3.500 mrs and carried an annual censo of 60 mrs, that is 1.71% of its value, payable to the nuns of Santa Clara.[145]

The lessees were required to pay the censo either in instalments at stipulated times of the year or to pay it in full on a particular date to the mayordomo of the nuns. Some contracts had special conditions attached to the lease; for example, sometimes the owner was required to build a house on the land and to keep it in good repair.[146] In the mid-fifteenth century the average censo the nuns received was five mrs per aramzada; by the early sixteenth century it was nearer eight mrs. However, some lessees continued to pay a nominal sum, such as one pair of hens on one and a quarter aranzadas of vine and olive groves in Torrijos in 1520. At a time of rising prices, such as the early sixteenth century, this hereditary lease system favoured the lessee rather than the 'owner', whose annuity was being eroded by inflation. It did provide the nuns, nonetheless, with a steady, safe annual income.

Inside the city walls, the nuns of Santa Clara owned leases on approximately sixteen properties ranging from the poor parish of Santiago de Arrabal, on the outskirts of the city, to the wealthy, central parish of San Pedro.[147]

Parish	Censo	Date of Conract	'Tenant'
Santiago de Arrabal	230 mrs	Jan. 1455	Pedro García de Alcázar + wife Marí García.
Santiago de Arrabal	230 mrs	Dec. 1487	Pedro de Sahagún 'el Mozo', curate in San Julián in Santa Olalla.
Santiago de Arrabal	230 mrs	Dec. 1514	Miguel de San Millán, texillero (purchased from the licenciado Diego García Hamusco, medico, + wife Aldonza Alvarez).
San Vicente	1000 mrs + 2 hens	Feb. 1462	Martín González de Toledo joyero + wife Catalina Ramírez.
San Nicolás (casa Tienda)	1275 mrs	March 1466	Juan Husillo, cambiador (purchased from María García, widow of Alfonso García de Belforado, centero).
San Nicolás	1275 mrs	Sept. 1502	
San Miguel (+ corral)	1000 mrs	Nov. 1471	D. Juan de Morales, dean of Seville (purchased from Juan de Colona).
San Miguel	1000 mrs	May 1476	This censo donated to the nun, doña María de Morales
San Miguel	1100 mrs	Oct. 1474	Rodrigo Alfonso de Salazar, pedrero, + wife Francisca Díaz.
San Miguel	1100mrs	Jan. 1482	Gonzalo Castellano
San Miguel	1100 mrs	Jun. 1493	Fernando de San Martín, mercader (purchased from the young children of Gonzalo Castellano).

Parish	Censo	Date of Contract	'Tenant'
San Miguel	70 mrs	Dec. 1486	Juan de Segovia, texedor de seda.
San Miguel	70 mrs	Oct. 1495	Pedro de Bonilla + Juan Díaz from Cifuentes (Previous owner was a carpintero).
San Nicolás	1230 mrs	Jan. 1472	By public auction to Beltrán (previous owners, a cordera zapatera + wife, had died).
San Nicolás	1000mrs	April 1477	Fernando Bermejo, mesonero, + wife Catalina Gómez (Wife had inherited it from her first husband for the duration of her lifetime).
San Nicolás	1100 mrs	April 1486	Juan + Pero Alvarez, vayneros, (previous owners were mesonero + wife.
San Nicolás	1000 mrs 2 hens	July 1510	One twelfth of the house in the lencería purchased by Francisco Zafrán, correro, from the monks of Santa María del Carmen.
San Pedro (two Shops)	600 mrs	Jan. 1480	Alfonso Rodríguez de Nambroca, tondidor.
Santo Tomé	1000 mrs	Jun. 1492	Rodrigo de Toledo, tintorero. (purchased from Jacob Abolafia físico).
Santo Tomé	1000 mrs	Oct. 1497	García de Vascuñana (previous owner had it confiscated for heresy).

Parish	Censo	Date of Contract	'Tenant'
Santo Tomé	1000 mrs	Dec. 1504	Bernaldino de Navarra (purchased from Mayor de Guzmán, wife of Juan Manuel).
San Andrés	100 mrs	Jun. 1480	Juan de Talavera, pedrero + Marí Gutiérrez (purchased from orphans).
San Andrés	700 mrs	March 1499	Juan Gómez de Yépes, texedor de sedas.
San Andrés	700 mrs	May 1499	Weaver purchases more of this property.
San Andrés	700 mrs	Jan. 1503	Ibid.

These contracts probably do not provide a complete list of the urban properties owned by the nuns of Santa Clara as some contracts may not have survived. One of the extant contracts illustrates the number of leases the nuns held in one single street in Toledo. In 1466, the widow María García, who held the lease from the nuns for her lifetime and those of two sons or daughters, confirmed that she had sold off some of her propertyto Juan Husillo, cambiador. The property to consisting of a shop and a house, were in the 'Calahorra', near where the baked bread was sold:

> '... they are adjoined on one side by other house-shops which the said monastery owns and which have been transferred to Juan Husillo, moneychanger, who now has them, and on the other side, towards the calle de las baycetas, they adjoin other houses which the said monastery owns and which Juan de Bustamante, the shoemaker, holds in perpetuity, and further down, towards the said houses-shops that she (María García) has, they adjoin an exchange which the said Juan Husillo, moneychanger, now holds ...'[148]

In this single street, therefore the nuns of Santa Clara owned several properties and received annual tributes from a widow, a moneychanger and a shoemaker.

Another censo contract, dated 24 January 1472, reveals that the owners of two shops in the calle de la Cuchillería, in the parish of San Nicolás, had died, and that the property had reverted back to the nuns of Santa Clara. In order to find a new lessee, the nuns were obliged to post 'adverts' on the Cathedral doors and in the 'usual' squares in Toledo.[149] This action did not produce any applications and the lease was put up for public auction. The new owner not only paid the con-

vent one year's censo in cash, but also donated 10.000 mrs for repairs to, and maintenance of, the convent's buildings.[150] This is the only contract where a donation of this type is mentioned; it is therefore impossible to say whether it was customary for new leaseholders to make a donation to the convent.

The convent owned other houses in the parish of San Nicolás, in the calle de la Cuchillería. This parish, according to the mid-sixteenth-century census, contained few people of social distinction.[151] The other parish where the nuns owned several properties was that of San Miguel, situated east of the Cathedral.[152] This particular parish, in 1558, registered the highest percentage of poor in Toledo - some 33.28% of the population. Are there any indications in the censo contracts issued by the nuns of Santa Clara of this poverty? Judging by the amount paid in censo, which serves as a useful indicator of the value of the property, there was little difference between the parishes of San Miguel and San Nicolás. For example, in 1471, don Juan de Morales, dean of Seville Cathedral and an important patron of the Toledan Poor Clares, purchased a lease worth 1000 mrs annually on some houses and a corral in the parish of San Miguel.[153] This censo was donated in 1476 to his sister, doña María de Morales, a nun in Santa Clara.[154] Another property-lease was sold to a stonecutter and his wife which carried an annual censo of 1100 mrs in 1474.[155] The only example of cheap property in this parish is suggested by an annual censo of a paltry 70 mrs on a house

for the period between 1486 and 1495.[156] However, the occupations of successive owners of this property- a silk-weaver and a carpenter - were not particularly lowly. One possible reason for the nominal censo is that Pedro de Bonilla, who bought the leases of the houses in 1495, had been the previous tenant. The fragmentary evidence we have of the social profile and the property values in this parish do not present any strong indications of poverty.

The convent of Santa Clara owned properties in the wealthy parishes of San Vincente, San Pedro and San Andrés, yet an examination of the censo payments derived from these properties shows that they differed little from those levied on less affluent neighbourhoods. Moreover, the social status of the 'tenants' did not differ appreciably from those living in the parishes of San Nicolás and San Miguel. Does this suggest that the Franciscan nuns' property interests were restricted to the cheaper end of the market? Or, on the contrary, do the censo contracts reveal that these parishes did contain inhabitants of greater wealth and social status?

The parish of San Pedro, adjoining the Cathedral, formed the economic and commercial heart of the city.[157] Hurtado de Toledo, writing in 1574, described how the inhabitants of this parish tended to live in the basements of buildings, as the upper floors were used as shops and warehouses for storing clothes, silks and other merchandise.[158] The concentration of shops in this part of Toledo is illustrated in a document, dated 1480,

in which a cloth-shearer (a tundidor) asked the nuns' permission to convert his two adjoining shops into one. The shops occupied a prime location for this type of business as they were situated '... at the main gate of the silk district in this said city'.[159] However, the censo value attached to the two shops was 600 mrs, considerably less than the tribute the nuns received from other parishes in the city. The Franciscan nuns bought some property in the parish of San Pedro in 1490 for 40.000 mrs which had no censo or tribute attached.[160] The owners of the adjoining properties were the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral, and Rodrigo de la Fuente, a converso merchant, an indication that properties in this parish were an attractive investment.

The parish of San Andrés was an affluent, residential neighbourhood to the south of the Cathedral. The nuns of Santa Clara had acquired the right to receive a censo and tribute on some property here through the nun Guiomar Lasa.[161] The latter had inherited numerous rural and urban properties from her father, Pero García Herrí, and the payments derived from these were incorporated in the mesa capitular when the nun took her vows. In 1499, the nephew of Guiomar Lasa began to sell off leases on the property to a silk-weaver and his wife. The total censo paid on this property was approximately 2.450 mrs annually, as the weaver bought two-sevenths of the property in 1499 for which he confirmed that a censo of 700 mrs annually was owed to the nuns of Santa Clara; by 1503, he had managed to buy up other leases on this property.[162] The property owned by the nuns in the parish of San Vicente carried a

censo of 1000 mrs and two hens annually in 1462, and was leased to a joyero and his wife.[163] These examples from these three wealthy parishes illustrate, not surprisingly, that people connected with the cloth trade, such as the cloth-shearer and silk merchants, and skilled craftsmen, such as a jeweller, owned leases in the commercial heart of the city.

In many respects the parish of Santo Tomé presents the most interesting social profile in Toledo, as it was the parish most affected by the expulsion of the Jews and Inquisitorial persecution of the converso population.[164] By the mid-sixteenth century, this parish, in which the former judería was situated, contained the highest number of inhabitants in Toledo, a significant proportion of whom were widows, solteras, beatas and nuns.[165] This large population, however, was a relatively new phenomenon. As Martz points out, the population of Santo Tomé expanded rapidly after the expulsion of the Jews:

> 'The empty houses of those expelled, sold at low prices, immediately attracted new inhabitants from the over-populated areas of Toledo'.[166] In particular, large numbers of conversos came to settle here in what was to be known in the sixteenth century as the 'Barrionuevo'.[167]

Evidence of the later fifteenth-century socio-political upheavals emerges in the property dealings of the nuns of Santa Clara. In June 1492, soon after the promulgation of the royal edict expelling the Jewish community from Spain, Rodrigo de Toledo, tintorero, bought some houses in the judería, in the parish of Santa Tomé, from Jacob Abolafia, físico, member

of the prominent Abolafia family.[168] The houses on one side belonged to Jacob's brother, Yusuf Abolafia, and those on the other side to Mose Dasy. The purchase price of the físico's property is not recorded in the censo contract, but the nuns received from these houses an annual censo of 1000 mrs.

The arrest of conversos in this parish by the Inquisition and the confiscation of their property must have created difficulties in the payment and collection of censos for the nuns. The trial of a suspected heretic could last several years, during which time his or her property remained under Crown control. Presumably the censo payment remained suspended for the duration of the trial, thus depriving the nuns of one of their sources of income. If a person was condemned as a heretic, there still remained the problem of disposing of his or her property. In 1497, the property of Pero Alvarez de Cibdad (deceased) and his wife, which had been confiscated by the Inquisition, was sold to García de Vascuñana.[169] The The latter confirmed, in the same year, that an annual censo of 1000 mrs was payable to the nuns of Santa Clara. In other instances, however, property of convicted heretics must have been more difficult to dispose of, and the nuns might have been obliged - especially in this parish which had a high conviction rate by the Inquisition - to drop the price of leases and thus make them more attractive to the buyer. Inquisitorial persecution, therefore, had an indirect impact on the finances and income of the nuns of Santa Clara, and presumably on the other religious orders who owned properties

in the parish of Santa Tomé. The Crown seems to have been aware of this problem, and, in the 1490s, issued instructions on how the property of convicted heretics was to be disposed of in order to minimise the economic damage.[170]

Despite dislocations in their annual income because of Inquistorial activities, the nuns of Santa Clara were in a position in 1506 to put in a bid for property in Carmena belonging to a reconciled heretic from Toledo.[171] At a public auction the nuns were bidding in competition with their Franciscan sisters, the nuns of Santa Isabel. In April 1507, the mayordomo of Santa Clara placed a bid of 272.000 mrs, but this offer was easily superseded by that made by the nuns of Santa Isabel of 360.000 mrs.[172] In this instance, the newly founded convent of Santa Isabel seems to have had access to larger sums of money than the old-established convent of Santa Clara. Was this a sign of an eclipse in the financial fortunes of the latter?

There are only a few scattered references to the social calibre of the women who became nuns in Santa Clara. For example, in 1465 Gonçalo López donated a vine and a majuelo, situated in Pago de Pozuela la Mayor, and worth a paltry 135 mrs annually, as a dowry for his daughter.[173] At the same time, the two daughters of the caballero Juan Carrillo de Toledo and doña Inés de Guzmán, took their vows in Santa Clara: doña María de Guzmán and doña Mayor Carrillo. The latter, who attained the position of abbess in September 1484, became involved in

a lawsuit with other members of her family in 1475 over the disposal of her parents' estate.[174] A settlement was reached which gave the nuns of Santa Clara properties, hornos and olive groves in the village of Santa Olalla. Within the same community and at the same time, therefore, one could find enormous disparities in wealth and social status.

In the 1470s and 1480s, the nuns of Santa Clara employed the services of two members of the Jewish Anacava family as mayordomos.[175] Samuel Anacava well a well-known businessman in Toledo, and during his period of office one would have expected the finances of the nuns to have been run efficiently. By 1513, however, as has been mentioned above, the finances of the Poor Clares appear to have reached crisis point, and they were obliged to send a supplicatory letter to Cardinal Cisneros, the Franciscan Archbishop of Toledo. The reasons for this financial crisis must lie partly with their reliance on annual censos and tributes from urban and rural holdings; the value of these censos, which were fixed when the original leases were issued, was gradually eroded by long-term devaluation of the maravedi or money of account, and, in the sixteenth century, this was coupled with price inflation. Other factors must also have undermined the nuns' financial position, such as the expulsion of the Jews, which brought financial dislocation in its wake, and the Inquisition's arrest of suspended heretics and the confiscation of their goods and properties. Houses in the former judería, where the nuns owned property, were sold off cheaply, and this may have

discouraged landlords from introducing a more realistic censo payment. Censos owed by suspected heretics were left unpaid for years whilst they awaited trial, and the purchase of the properties of convicted heretics demanded a certain pool of liquid cash which the Poor Clares may not have had access to. Finally, the proliferation of female Franciscan communities in late fifteenth and early sixteenth-century Toledo led to competition for recruits and patronage, in the process of which the convent of Santa Clara appears to have lost out.

The Convent of Santa Isabel de los Reyes.

The origins of the convent of Santa Isabel were commonplace. The founder was doña María de Toledo, daughter of Pero Suárez de Toledo and doña Juana de Toledo, Lords of Pinto, and widow of García Méndez de Sotomayor y de Haro, Lord of El Carpio.[176] After her husband's death, doña María and another widow devoted themselves to charitable work in the hospital of Misericordia in Toledo. When she was forty years of age, she and two other women received papal permission to found a Franciscan convent in Toledo. She remained in the convent of Santa Isabel, as her foundation was named, for thirty years and, in 1507, the year of her death, she was still described as abbess. What was unusual about this convent were the donations and favours the community received from the Catholic Monarchs.[177] Other members of the family of doña María de Toledo were also major patrons of the convent in its early years.

According to a sixteenth-century chronicle, doña Juana de Toledo, the sister of doña María, donated 15.000 ducats from her estate to the convent of Santa Isabel.[178] Presumably doña María had brought with her to the convent considerable assets, including her dowry and the legitima from her father, who died sometime before 1474.[179] The principal donation from the Catholic Monarchs consisted of properties in the parish of San Antolín, including the parish church.[180] This was a wealthy parish which contained the Archbishop's palace, the ayuntamiento, and the official residence of the Dean of the Cathedral Chapter.[181] In July 1480, the Catholic Monarchs granted the convent of Santa Isabel a merced of houses:

> '...which are called 'De La Reyna' and which belonged to the señora Inés De Ayala, may she rest in peace, with the yard-houses and the backyards attached to them, and with all the other pieces of land, beata houses, and other houses annexed to them, and with the stable called 'de Amara' which is below the houses belonging to the Countess of Ribadeneyra...'[182]

In all documents detailing the transfer of property within Toledo, the size, number and layout of the buildings were minutely described and listed. This donation not only included the main buildings but also those bordering the corral and trascorrales.[183] The houses, which had originally belonged to the mother of Ferdinand the Catholic, doña Juana Enríquez, were donated to the convent together with the rights to any censos or tributes attached to the property.[184]

The transfer of ownership of property or land was accompanied by specific rituals. In order to symbolise the changing of

ownership, occupants were ritually ejected from the properties concerned, the door or gate was closed, and then the new owners were re-admitted and acknowledged as owners.[185] The mayordomo of the convent of Santa Isabel in the 1480s carried out a number of these rituals on behalf of the nuns, but on certain occasions doña María de Toledo and other nuns were actively involved.

The descriptions of ritual transfers of ownership throw light on thenumber and social status of the occupants and properties acquired by the convent in this area of Toledo. In the casas principales, that is houses which possessed a patio, the mayordomo found Jácome Polo, a Genoese merchant, Gonzalo de Villareal, another merchant, and several silk-weavers.[186] Although no reference was made to looms or any other equipment, the building may have been used either as a silk-factory, a warehouse, or, more improbably, as a dwelling-house for the merchants and weavers. In the house next to the chapel of doña Inés de Ayala another Genoese merchant was found.[187] A community of beatas, known as the beatas of doña Inés de Ayala, lived near the chapel of the same name, and they too acknowledged their new 'landlords.[188] Other occupants included a trapero, two batidores, a weaver, and some mozas who worked for Ruy Sánchez de Madrid, escribano publico. An interesting cross-section of people, therefore, appears to have lived in the properties acquired by the nuns: those of the highest rank lived in the casas principales, the poorest in the basements of the buildings.

The transfer of the parish church of San Antolín did not take place until 1488, although the royal donation was made in 1480.[189] In October 1488, the corregidor, Gómez Manrique, formally handed over the keys of San Antolín and was ritually ejected from the Church. The nuns of San Isabel then entered San Antolín and claimed possession of the church, the chapel of doña Inés de Ayala, and the contents of both, including ornaments, crucifixes, chalices and books.[190]

It would appear that far fewer censo contracts relating to the convent of Santa Isabel have survived compared with the convent of Santa Clara. One would assume that the special royal favour shown to this convent must have generated other donations and endowments.[191] The few contracts that have survived indicate that the nuns of Santa Isabel, like the nuns of Santa Clara, were receiving a steady annual income from tributes levied on vine groves in the surrounding countryside. For example, in 1498, a payment of fourteen mrs and one hen was received from Catalina Fernández assigned on three and a half aranzadas of majuelo in Chueca.[192] In 1503, the nuns' mayordomo confirmed the receipt of 1870 mrs of tribute from Juan de Carredo, alguazil and criado of don Gutierre de Cardeñas, comendador mayor of León, levied on olive groves in Torrijos. The convent of Santa Isabel had acquired these olive trees from Gonzalo Pantoja, ex-regidor of Toledo, as part-payment for the dowry of his daughter, doña Aldonza Pantoja, a professed nun in Santa Isabel.[193]

As early as 1488, the nuns of Santa Isabel were buying property in Toledo: in that year they purchased two pairs of houses from a silk-merchant and his wife in the parish of Santa María Magdalena, in the eastern part of Toledo. The houses were bought for 20.500 mrs, and carried an annual censo of 1000 mrs or 4.87% of their value.[194] No other details of their urban properties have survived, and judging by the nineteenth-century disentailment lists, the convent of Santa Isabel did not appear to be a prominent property owner in Toledo.[195]

In 1507, the nuns paid 36.000 mrs for the landed properties of María González, condemned as a heretic in 1506.[196] The properties were situated in Carmena, near Maqueda, and consisted of inns, an olive-mill complete with equipment, land and olive trees worth 20 fanegas of wheat and 10 arrobas of oil, four fanegas of olives, two blancas, two hens, and 15.000 mrs in cash. These properties had been put up for public auction soon after the woman was sentenced in October 1506. At varying intervals after this date, bids were invited: in November 1506, a man from Torrijos offered 250.000 mrs; in April 1507, another Torrijos man offered a puja of 270.000 mrs, followed, two days later, by an offer of 272.000 mrs from the mayordomo of the nuns of Santa Clara; in June 1507, the offer of 360.000 mrs by the convent of Santa Isabel was accepted by the auctioneer.[197] The ritual transfer in ownership took place in July 1507 inside an olive-mill between the Torrijos and Escalomilla roads.[198]

The convent of Santa Isabel, the first female Franciscan community in Toledo to accept the Regular Observance, seems to have been provided with a sound, financial infrastructure.[199] Unlike other female communities, they were not obliged to go through the long, laborious process of buying parcels of land and houses in Toledo. Instead, through the patronage of the Catholic Monarchs, they received several royal juros, the parish church of San Antolín, and the adjoining properties. They do not appear to have had extensive property interests within the city of Toledo, but this must have been more than offset by the incomes and rents they received from their rural holdings. Only a few of the nuns' names have survived in contemporary documents, but the following observations can be offered as a guide to the social calibre of the early inmates of Santa Isabel. The founder and abbess was the daughter of the Lord of Pinto and the widow of the Lord of El Carpio. Other inmates included a member of the Ayala family, a Tellez de Toledo, doña Isabel de Toledo, sister of the Count of Oropesa, doña Aldonza Pantoja, a regidor's daughter, and doña Eufrasia de Rojas, who was possibly an ex-abbess of the convent of Santa Clara.[200] Also, doña Felipe de Silva, ex-abbess of the convent of the Immaculate Conception, spent her last years with the nuns of Santa Isabel.[201] Finally, using the evidence of burial tombs as an indicator of status, the convent of Santa Isabel achieves a high rating. Alcocer narrates how the body of doña Inés de Ayala, great-grandmother of Ferdinand the Catholic, was removed from the choir and placed on the right-hand side of the main altar.[202] In medieval

iconography this position was usually reserved for the main patron of the commissioned work. The royal connection was further strengthened by the burial in Santa Isabel of the infanta Isabel, the eldest daughter of the Catholic Monarchs.[203]

The Convent of San Antonio of Padua.

The convent of San Antonio of Padua developed out of a beaterio situated near the Dominican convent of Madre de Dios in the parish of San Román.[204] The area around the Dominican convent contained more than one community of beatas, and this makes the early history of the convent of San Antonio difficult to reconstruct. According to Alcocer, the convent of Madre de Dios amalgamated with the neighbouring beata-house of St. Catherine of Siena in 1491;[205] in 1508, the beatas of doña María García de Toledo transformed into a regular community of Jeronymite nuns and took the title of the convent of San Pablo;[206] at about the same time, in houses opposite the church gate at Madre de Dios, a new community of beatas emerged known as the beatas 'of Catalina de la Fuente'. It was this latter beaterio that was to develop into the convent of San Antonio of Padua. There is evidence of close links between the beatas of Catalina de la Fuente and those of doña María García de Toledo through María de la Fuente, sister of Catalina and beata in the beaterio of doña María García de Toledo. Let us try and disentangle the early history of the Franciscan beatas.

The earliest documentary reference to these beatas is in a

censo contract dated October 1505. In this document they were described as 'las beatas que dizen de la casa de la contadora...'.[207] In November 1506, they were known as the beatas 'de la contadora, de la observancia de San Francisco'.[208] In March 1512, the identity of this mysterious contadora was revealed - the community was now known as '... la casa e hermandad de beatas que se dize de catalina de la fuente...';[209] and by 1516, the beaterio had become a regular convent, '... la hermandad de beatas que se dizen de la fuente e agora se dize de Santo Antonyo de Padua ...'[210] The transformation of this beaterio into convent, then, was due to the patronage of this woman called Catalina de la Fuente, presumably a woman who was, or had been, the wife of a contador (financial official).

A few biographical references in surviving documents allow us to build up the following picture of Catalina de la Fuente. Her surname indicates that she was a member of one of the many de la Fuente families in Toledo, who were mainly merchants and conversos.[211] She was the daughter of Gonzalo López de la Fuente, merchant and jurado, who had died sometime before 1455. In that year Catalina's name first appeared on a document concerned with a property transaction with no reference made to a curador; from this we can infer that she was at this stage at least twenty-five years of age.[212] As has been stated above, the beata house near Madre de Dios bore her name between c.1505-16, and if her date of birth is assumed to be c.1430, it is just possible that she was still alive in

1516. However, at least two other Toledo *beata* houses bore the names of patrons or founders who were long dead: the *beatas* of doña Inés de Ayala were still using this designation as late as 1480, and the *beatas* of doña María García de Toledo were still using this title more than 100 years after the death of their founder.[213] Catalina's name appeared regularly in *censo* contracts issued between 1455 and 1486, but in these she seems to be acting on her own behalf. It is only from *c*.1505 that her name becomes linked with a *beata* house, an indication that she had established this religious community, or that she had recently died and had bequeathed her estate to the *beaterio*. Catalina had a sister, María, who was a *beata* in the *beaterio* of doña María García de Toledo, and a brother Diego.[214] Nothing else is known of her family connections. Both she and her sister and brother owned several properties in Toledo and the surrounding countryside, which presumably they had inherited from their father. No references appear in the documents to a husband, and although Alcocer states that Catalina became a nun in the convent of San Antonio of Padua, there is no documentary evidence to substantiate this view.[215]

Did the fact that the convent of San Antonio was founded and endowed by a woman from the office-holding, *converso*, and merchant class in Toledo affect the social profile of early recruits? The few details that we have on the early members of this community suggest that the de la Fuente clan supplied several nuns. For example, the first *beata mayor* or *hermana*

mayor of the *beaterio*, María González, was purportedly a niece of Catalinade la Fuente.[216] A dowry document, dated June 1532, reveals that no fewer than four daughters of the Toledo *regidor*, Juan de la Torre, and Teresa de la Fuente, entered the convent of San Antonio of Padua.[217] Three of the daughters were already 'professed' nuns in 1532 and had adopted religious surnames as a sign of their abandonment of secular life. The fourth daughter, Teresa, described her status as '... estoy para monja', and still used her father's surname 'de la Torre', an indication that she was a novice preparing to take her vows. With respect to these four sisters, the convent of San Antonio was given 370.000 *mrs* and 100 *fanegas* of wheat for clothing expenses incurred in taking vows. Therefore, each woman brought with her a dowry worth approximately 100.000 *mrs*. This was almost half of the 500 *ducados* stipulated by doña Teresa Enríquez for her foundation in Aguilar and for the Toledo convent of San Juan de la Penitencia in 1566-7.[218]

If we assume that Catalina de la Fuente bequeathed her estate to the nascent convent of San Antonio, then the basis of the latter's financial well-being must lie in the fifteenth-century property dealings of their major patron. In the 1450s, Catalina de la Fuente owned properties in the parish of San Cipriano, on the southern fringes of the city, and between 1455-9 she purchased houses in the wealthier parishes of San Lorenzo and San Roman. In addition, she held the right to annual *censos* on houses in San Cipriano and San Juan de la

Leche. What was the value of this property, and how much income did her censo payments generate?

In 1459, Catalina and María de la Fuente owned two houses used for dyeing cloth in the parish of San Cipriano, for which they paid the nuns of San Pedro de las Dueñas 300 mrs in censo and tribute every year.[219] This parish was a poor neighbourhood whose inhabitants, according to Hurtado de Toledo, were mainly wool-combers, cloth-shearers, dyers and tanners.[220] This area was the centre of Toledo's dyeing and tanning industries. One can imagine that its proximity to the river and the presence of the tanneries must have made it an unpleasant neighbourhood to live in. The dye-house which Catalina de la Fuente owned had previously been a tannery, and in 1459, in order to acquire the right to collect the 150 mrs of censo herself, she entered into a triangular agreement with the nuns of San Pedro and the beaterio of doña María García de Toledo where her sister was a Beata. The nuns of San Pedro offered the Beatas a censo on the two dyeing-houses in exchange for a censo on houses in the parish of Santa Leocadia la Vieja. The beatas then agreed to sell 150 mrs' worth of censo to Catalina de la Fuente for 3.000 mrs; in other words, the annual censo was worth 5% of the purchase price.[221]

In 1455, Catalina de la Fuenta bought a censo worth 500 mrs from the widow Leonor Alvarez on some houses in the parish of San Román for an undisclosed sum.[222] Four years later she bought houses in the parish of San Lorenzo from a married couple for the price of 18.000 mrs.[223] In 1461, the lease on

these houses was sold to a dyer and his wife and carried a censo charge of 1.200 mrs.[224] For some reason the dyer and and his wife lived only nine months in the house, and they sold the lease in 1462 to a butcher and his wife.[225]

These snippets of information show that Catalina de la Fuente's 'tenants' were drawn mainly from the craftsman and artisan class, and the fact that she was able to buy new property from time to time indicates that such purchases were regarded as a profitable, as well as a safe, occupation. The impression derived from the surviving censo contracts is that her property interests were concentrated on the parish of San Cipriano. Apart from the censo she acquired on the dye-house in 1459, she also owned houses and corrales in the same area on which she imposed tributes. For example, in 1472, she received 1.100 mrs in censo on 'unas casas e corral con ciertos tiradores'; in 1474, she received 500 mrs and one pair of hens on the other houses which were adjoined by property belonging to her sister, María, and by other houses which she owned.[226] By 1505, one of these censos had been donated to the beatas 'de la contadora':

> '... I negotiated and agreed with Juan de Alcalá, mason, that he should sell me some houses which he and his wife own here in Toledo... and that he should sell them to me with certain payments which are attached to them, particularly 150 mrs in censo and payment to the devout and honest and religious Beatas, known as 'de la contadora', who live near the monastery of Madre de Dios ...'[227]

In 1516, the community of beatas, now known as the convent of

San Antonio, received a censo of 400 mrs on houses in the same parish. In the early sixteenth century the orbit of the beatas' censo interests had widened to include one in the parish of Santo Tomé, the parish where the convent was finally to settle. In 1506, a weaver confirmed that the beatas were entitled to a tribute on some houses in the Barrionuevo, near the former Jewish meat-market.[228] Among the tributes annexed to the convent by María González, the hermana mayor between c.1505 - c.1516, was one worth 1.200 mrs on houses in Santa Leocadia, bought by a doctor García de Pisa in 1512:

> '... the said houses ... owed tribute to María González, beata, vecina of the said city of Toledo, and they now owe tribute to the house and sisterhood of beatas, known as that of Catalina de la Fuente of this said city of Toledo ... And the said house and sisterhood of beatas are due these tributes because the said María González entered and joined herself to the said house and sisterhood of beatas along with all her possessions ...' [229]

Unlike the convents of Santa Clara and to a lesser extent Santa Isabel, the convent of San Antonio does not appear to have owned any lands in the olive and vine-growing areas outside Toledo.[230] Through the patronage of Catalina de la Fuente, the convents' property interests were confined to collecting censos and tributes from houses in the parish of San Cipriano. Lack of precise information on the early inmates discourages speculation on their social origins. In the early years, however, the convent was closely associated with the de la Fuente clan, many of whose members had been subject to Inquisitorial persecution in the 1480s; in 1532,

daughters of a Toledo regidor brought with them a dowry of approximately 100.000 mrs to the convent, a not inconsiderable sum for the time. In c. 1514, the beatas formally adopted the Rule of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis, and in 1525 their transition from beaterio to formal convent with enclosure was complete: in that year they bought from Charles V the seignorial houses of the ex-regidor, Fernando de Avalos, in the parish of Santo Tomé. The ex-regidor had been a prominent comunero, who had fled to Portugal and who was exluded from the Emperor's general pardon of 1522. The nuns took up residence in his houses in an area of Toledo which contained two other Franciscan houses and a large number of beatas.

The Convent of the Immaculate Conception.

The origins of the convent of the Immaculate Conception have been obscured by the hagiographic excesses surrounding the figure of the founder, doña Beatriz de Silva.[233] Doña Beatriz was the daughter of don Ruy Gómez de Silva and doña Isabel de Meneses, who came to Castile from Portugal as part of the entourage of the infanta Isabel, wife of John II and mother of Isabel the Catholic.[234] According to the earliest history of the convent, written by the vicario, Fr. Francisco Garnica in 1526, doña Beatriz de Silva and twelve companions began living as a religious community in 1484 in the Galiana palaces in Toledo. Doña Beatriz wished to establish a new order of nuns devoted to the cult of the Immaculate Conception, and the

election of a Franciscan pope, Sixtus IV, must have been seen as a favourable omen. However, doña Beatriz de Silva died in 1490 without seeing her plans for a new order come to fruition. In 1495, the new convent of the Immaculate Conception was inaugurated in Toledo through the amalgamation of the convents of San Pedro de las Dueñas and Santa Fe. The document of union and annexation details the transfer of power from doña Téllez de Guzmán, abbess of San Pedro, to doña Felipa de Silva, abbess of Santa Fe de la Concepción and niece of doña Beatriz de Silva.[235] However, the early history of the Conceptionist nuns was marked by dissensions between the ex-Benedictine nuns of San Pedro and the new order. Between the signing of the bull of union in 1495 and the intervention of Cisneros in spring 1496, the situation had reached such a critical point that the abbess and eight other nuns had left the convent and had gone to Portugal.[236] The only two nuns to remain steadfast to the new order through its many vicissitudes were doña Catalina de Calderón and Juana de San Miguel, both of whom were vicarias and abbesses in the convent of the Immaculate Conception. In 1511, the new convent received its own rule and habit from the Franciscan provincial vicar of Castile, Fr. Francisco de los Angeles Quiñones, and was placed under the jurisdiction of the Franciscan Order.[237]

The cult of the Immaculate Conception, actively promoted by the Franciscan hierarchy in Castile, was remarkably popular, particularly among the nobility in the area around Toledo. By 1526 there were seventeen Conceptionist houses in the

Archdiocese of Toledo founded by nobles like doña Teresa Enríquez in Torrijos and Maqueda, and, as we have noted above, the Marquises of Villena in Escalona. Cisneros established a Conceptionist houses in Illescas, and in 1506 set up a confraternity in Toledo devoted to the cult of the Immaculate Conception.[238] The convent of the Conception in Toledo rapidly became established as one of the centres of lay devotion.

Omaechevarría, the main historian of the Conceptionist Order, has compiled a list of sixty professed nuns who entered the Toledo convent between 1496 and 1515.[239] In the Bull of Union of 1495, three of the nuns had their names prefixed by 'doña', and only one had assumed a 'religious' surname. By 1516, however, more than twenty three out of a total of seventy nuns had adopted this practice, a development that makes the task of tracing the social origins of these nuns difficult. Five of the nuns merely had their Christian names noted, for example, 'Jeronima', 'Valentina' etc., perhaps an indication of their lowly social status. Of the remainder there were several bearing the surnames of local noble families - for example, Ayala, Cardeñas, Estúñiga - and others with converso surnames such as Palma, de la Torre, and Alvarez-Zapata.[240] In short, the convent of the Immaculate Conception attracted women from Noble, caballero and merchant families in Toledo, as well as those from a more humble background.

The community of Conceptionist nuns settled in 1502 in houses next to the Alcázar, in the eastern parish of Santa María

Magdalena.[241] Like other contemporary Franciscan convents, their finances were based on dowries, donations, and the collection of rents and tributes on urban and rural properties. In April 1503, they received the first of many royal privileges, that of 40 fanegas of salt from the Saline at Espartinas.[242]

A sales transaction in 1506 between the nuns and the confraternity of San Miguel and San Bartolomé indicates that the convent's financial situation was healthy enough for them to expand the number of their censos.[243] The confraternity sold to the convent, as a hereditary juro, a collection of censos worth 5.500 mrs and four hens annually. The price agreed upon was 165.000 mrs or the equivalent of thirty years of censos.[244] These censos were levied on houses in the parishes of San Lorenzo, San Pedro, San Nicolás and San Miguel:

Parish	Censo	'Tenant'
San Lorenzo	1000 mrs	Benedictine nuns of Santo Domingo el Antiguo.
San Pedro	2.500 mrs + 4 hens	Alonso de Balquende + Blanca Ramírez
San Nicolás	1.000 mrs	Widow and heirs of Pero García, espartero
San Miguel	1.000 mrs	Quitería de Méscua, widow of Alonso Gómez de Cervantes, and her son, Alonso Gómez

Among the censatorios were the Benedictine nuns of Santo Domingo el Antiguo and two widows and their families. It is interesting to note that Blanca Ramírez, wife of Alonso de Balquende, had been arrested and tried by the Inquisition

sometime before 1492; unusually, several Jews were summoned as witnesses, and also her father-in-law who was apparently a known judaizer; in 1495, her name appeared in a list of judaizers whose sentence was commuted to a money fine, with Blanca being obliged to pay 3.000 mrs.[245]

The first Conceptionist house in Toledo soon became one of the most prestigious female convents in the city. Although the early years of the community were marred by controversies, the active support of patrons such as Cisneros and other Franciscan prelates, and popular devotion to the cult of the Immaculate Conception, ensured the survival and rapid expansion of the Order, especially in the Archdiocese of Toledo.

The Convent of San Miguel de los Angeles.

The convent of San Miguel, like so many other contemporary foundations, developed out of a beaterio established by Diego López de Toledo, regidor, and his wife, María de Santa Cruz.[246] Up to the death of the regidor in 1491, the community contained only seven beatas; María de Santa Cruz and twelve doncellas joined the original beatas, and in 1513-4 the community adopted the Rule of the Second Order of St. Clare.[247]

The principal patrons of the convent in the early years were members of the Alvarez de Toledo family. The marriage of the regidor and María de Santa Cruz was childless, and this seems to have prompted them to invest in a convent. In the

regidor's will he left instructions to his brothers, don Francisco Alvarez de Toledo, maestrescuela, and don Juan Alvarez de Toledo, secretario of the Catholic Monarchs, to extend the beaterio by buying up property in the neighbourhood of San Salvador. According to Alcocer, the Maestrescuela gave the nuns his own house opposite the parish church of San Salvador, and he also bought them houses belonging to Juan de Ayala, Lord of Cebolla, which were situated opposite the convent.[248] The nuns thus acquired a string of properties in this parish of Toledo, near the parish church of San Salvador. In 1475, the regidor and his wife had purchased a tribute worth 250 mrs annually in this same area for 6.000 mrs, which was presumably annexed to the convent after their death.[249] Apart from the properties and incomes bequeathed by the two founders, the convent also received fourteen juros from the maestrescuela, who seems to have taken on the role of principal patron after his brother's death.[250]

One would have expected the convent to have attracted women of comparable status to those in the convent of San Antonio of Padua - that is, the daughters of the patrician and merchant classes of Toledo. In the documents, dated 1510 and 1513, the names of nineteen nuns are listed, predominantly the discretas or officiales of the convent, but, interestingly, none of these names bear the honorific prefix of 'doña'.[251] This would indicate that, unlike other Franciscan convents in Toledo, the convent of San Miguel was not attracting women from the ranks of the great aristocracy. Many of the surnames, such as

Velázquez, Fernández, and Rodríguez, give no clues as to the social origins of the nuns. The three abbesses listed for these two years were Isabel de Santa Cruz, María de Santa Cruz, and Cecilia Zapata, blood relatives of the founder and therefore archetypal conventual superiors.[252]

Details of dowry payments have been recovered for only two novices entering the convent of San Miguel in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, and these reveal certain disparities. The two women were typical recruits for this convent insofar as one was the daughter of a regidor and the other a member of the Alvarez de Toledo family. In 1493, while San Miguel still followed the Rule of the Third Order of St. Francis, the commander Diego Ramírez de Lucena, regidor and consejero of the Queen's house, and his wife, Beatriz Núñez, agreed to pledge to the abbess and beatas a censo of 2.000 mrs and two hens on some houses in the parish of Santo Tomé as a dowry for their daughter, Lucina Ramírez.[253] These houses, incidentally, were next door to the houses of Fernando de Avalos which were sold to the nuns of San Antonio in 1525. The second dowry of 200.000 mrs was paid in 1516 after the convent had transferred to the Second Order of St. Clare, and was offered by Juan Alvarez de Toledo for his sister doña María Alvarez de Toledo.[254] This was a considerable sum of money for the time and perhaps indicates that blood relatives were accustomed to offering large amounts to the family convent.

The convent of San Miguel does not appear to have owned many

leases on urban property in its early years. They had been given several houses in the parish of San Salvador, a censo on some property in Santo Tomé, and another worth 5.000 mrs per annum on houses in the wealthy parish of Santa Leocadia.[255] This latter censo was bought for the nuns by Juan Alvarez de Toledo, chaplain of the cathedral, for 160.000 mrs in part-payment for his sister's dowry. The equation used for arriving at this price was that each 1000 mrs of censo was valued at 32.000 mrs. The vendors of the Santa Leocadia censo were a widow, Teresa de Segura, and her son Gutierre de Guadalupe, a merchant: in 1495, Teresa de Segura and her husband, Fernando de Guadalupe, joyero, had been fined 12.500 mrs by the Inquisition.[256]

In the countryside the convent of San Miguel owned the Barranchuela mill in Daicán, just outside the city walls on the riverside.[257] This mill was bought by Diego López de Toledo in 1477 from doña Catalina Núñez, widow of Alfonso Alvarez de Toledo, contador mayor and ex-member of the consejo of Henry IV. The flour mill was bought for 200.000 mrs which was paid for in 'doblas castellanas de oro de la banda'. In the Alcalá region the nuns also received a tribute of 1000 mrs annually from several wine cellars and vineyards owned by members of the la Fuente clan.[258] They also leased out one haza of land in Nambroca for 400 mrs and two pairs of hens annually.[259]

The Convent of San Juan de la Penitencia.

The convent of San Juan de la Penitencia was founded in 1514 along with an adjoining college for doncellas.[260] The convent followed a hybrid rule, which was basically the Rule of the Third Order Regular, but the nuns also observed certain constitutions from the First Rule of St. Clare.[261] This foundation was funded and endowed by Cardinal Cisneros and, after his death, by Fr. Francisco Ruiz, the Franciscan bishop of Avila. As this was the principal foundation of Cisneros in Toledo, this convent has received considerable attention from historians. A large amount of documentary evidence relating to the convent has survived in papal bulls, the will and testament of Cisneros, instructions drawn up by Fr. Francisco Ruiz, and in the earliest biographies of the Cardinal.[262] Quintanilla, writing in the late seventeenth century, was the first to collect and collate these sources in an organised and systematic manner. His main interest was in the financial structure of San Juan de la Penitencia, and for this reason he documented the number, value, and rent of the convent's properties, and also the amount of annual income they received from tributes and censos. Quintanilla's work is thus an extremely valuable source for a reconstruction of the early history of San Juan de la Penitencia.

The convent and colegio was built to house fifty nuns and 200 doncellas, but these high numbers were never attained; in 1518, the number of doncellas was fixed at twenty six by a brief

issued by Leo X.[263] Four 'founding members' were transferred from the Franciscan convent of Almagro to serve as instructors to the novices, and at least three of these women were long-serving abbesses in the Toledo convent.[264] The doncellas, who were obliged to observe their own constitutions, were only permitted to sit with the nuns in the convent church.[265] The doncella had to possess the following attributes: '... she should be of noble lineage, or at least hijadalga, and poor, and be nine years of age.[266] Novices had to be at least sixteen, noble and poor, and 'not stained by public infamy' ('no maculada de publica infamia'), which effectively excluded those whose relatives had been arrested by the Inquisition.[267] The doncellas could spend up to six years in the college, after which they could enter the convent free of charge, if there was a place available, or they were given 25.000 mrs as a marriage dowry or as a dowry for another convent in Toledo.[268] The money for these dowries was provided by some juros which Cisneros donated to the convent, and if the money was not needed for this purpose in any one year, then it was used to fund dowries for poor girls in Toledo.[269] The purpose of the girls' college was two-fold: to provide a quasi-seminary training for nunhood and a convent education for the daughters of the Toledo upper classes. For her subsistence each doncella was given 3.000 mrs and eight fanegas of wheat annually; the nuns received 4.000 mrs and eight fanegas of wheat for the same purpose.[290]

Cisneros bought twelve two-storeyed buildings in the parish of San Justo for the convent and the college for a total cost of

12.000 ducats or 4.500.000 mrs. He also donated censos derived from properties throughout Toledo as income for the convent.[271] According to Abad Pérez, the seventeen leases the convent owned in Toledo brought in an annual income of 40.000 mrs.[272] In addition, Cisneros gave them the rents from the benefices of Casarrubios, Villamante, Valmojado, El Alamo, Las Ventas, Luncher, Villaluenga, Odón 'El Bispo', Lucero, Alvala, Ayoverín, La Fuente, La Mesa, and Dancos.[273] In 1518, the convent received a royal juro worth 500.000 mrs, and another one for 135.000 mrs in 1533.[274] In Cisneros' will, dated 8 July 1517, he left instructions for 10.000.000 mrs to be deposited in Toledo Cathedral within thirty days of his death, which were to be used to purchase rents and income for the nuns of San Juan de la Penitencia.[275] It is not known whether Cisneros' wishes were carried out to the letter, but it seems unlikely that his executors were able to raise such a large sum in a short period of time.

After Cisneros' death in 1517, his colleague , Fr. Francisco Ruiz, assumed the role of major patron and spiritual guardian of the nuns of San Juan de la Penitencia.[276] He drew up the constitutions for the nuns and doncellas, and had a chapel built inside the convent to house his burial tomb and those of his family. He pledged 600.000 mrs annual income for the nuns which was to be handed over within ten years of his death, and also several censos on some houses in the parish of San Vicente. Ruiz also created six chaplaincies which were to take effect one month after his death; three of the six

chaplains had to be Franciscan friars, and their main function was to say daily mass for the souls of Cisneros, Ruiz, and the latter's parents. The choice of chaplains was made by the abbess, and each chaplain was to be paid 16.000 mrs annually.

The convent never received the full sum of 600.000 mrs annually from the executors of Ruiz's will. Adjustments were made to his will and new clauses were drawn up.[277] Quintanilla pointed out that the nuns only received 400.000 mrs from Ruiz's estate, and this amount was spent in the following way:

> 'Each year lots are drawn for six shares, worth 20.000 mrs each, each one being for the marriage of poor doncellas of this city. The rest is spent on six chaplains who serve in the choir and say and officiate at masses, and a sacristan, and an organist, and in other related matters...' [278]

Chaplains:	96.000 mrs
Sacristan:	5.000 mrs + 8 fanegas of wheat
Mass-attendants:	4.000 mrs (2 x 2.000 mrs)
Organist:	2.000 mrs
Mayordomo:	3.000 mrs
Washerwoman:	1.000 mrs
Dowries for poor doncellas:	120.000 mrs
Total:	231.000 mrs + 8 fanegas of wheat

This amount was derived from Alcabala revenues in Toledo from the sale of gold, silk, old clothes, oil, cheese, haberdashery, candle grease and tar, and paper.[279]

Other annual costs incurred by the convent were:

Dowries:	75.000 (3 x 25.000 mrs)
Alms:	35.000 mrs
Nun's expenses:	4.000 mrs and 8 fanegas of wheat per nun.
Doncellas' expenses:	3.000 mrs and 8 fanegas of wheat per nun.
Staff:	A mayordomo, doctor, and letrado whose salaries were fixed by the Provincial Minister of Castile.

Therefore, the annual running costs of the convent of San Juan de la Penitencia amounted to more than 500.000 mrs. The nuns had to survive on a fixed income derived from urban property and from unlucrative benefices in the archdiocese of Toledo. There was a large gap between the amount pledged by the convent's two principal patrons and the actual amount the nuns received. At a time of rapidly rising prices, the real value of Cisneros' and Ruiz's bequests was eroded, and by 1567 the convent was in serious financial difficulty, with many of the stipulations of Cisneros' and Ruiz's wills being ignored or manipulated by the convent. In that same year, the Franciscan Provincial ruled that the only solution to the nuns' financial crisis was to introduce a minimum dowry requirement of 500 ducats:

> '... a large number of nuns with a small dowry are not to be admitted, since the nuns and the monastery will be impoverished and money will have to be used on their upkeep - fraudulently and against the wishes of the founder and his Holiness. All the above is decided on condition

> that no nun is to be accepted into the said Nunnery with less than a dowry of 500 ducats and her ajuar and the other things which are usually brought and given, along with dowries, in the other convents'. 280

Cisneros' ambitious welfare project for penurious gentlewomen and girls had therefore to be largely modified in the second half of the sixteenth century. His endowment of the convent and college with annual rents and juros proved insufficient to cushion the women against the effects of inflation. The example of San Juan de la Penitencia illustrates the extent to which the sixteenth-century convent was dependent on the dowries it received from novices, which in 1567 cost a minimum of 500 ducats or 187.500 mrs.[281]

Conclusion.

What, then, can we conclude about the social profile and the financial structure of female Franciscan houses in the early modern period? Convents owned a number of rural properties, but there are no indications in the surviving documents that they were involved in any form of estate management or demesne exploitation.[282] Instead the nuns functioned as rentiers, deriving income in the form of censos and juros from the leaseholders who worked the land themselves and on their own behalf. In certain instances censo contracts stipulated that the lessees were responsible for the upkeep and proper maintenance of the property. In this way the nuns were safeguarding the capital equipment and physical upkeep of their properties. There were several advantages to this type of

rentier income, the principal one being the minimal costs involved in leasing out property: the nuns were not responsible for hiring labourers, paying wages, or marketing the produce of their estate. The only official they needed to hire was a mayordomo who acted as a link-man between the nuns and their tenants, ensuring that the censo was paid at the correct intervals, and confirming the transfer of a lease from one tenant to another. This system thus offered the nuns a safe and regular income but did not involve them in heavy expenditure. The attraction of this system to a community of enclosed nuns, who were themselves unable to play a direct role in the management of their estates, is evident. However, it also meant that the nuns were to some extent dependent on the financial and business acumen of their mayordomos.

With regard to the specific forms of conventual income, these fall into three main categories: large capital sums, censos and juros, and dowry payments. In the first instance these were either gifts in kind or in cash. Donations in kind consisted of either property which was to be used to house the nascent community or, more exceptionally, as in the case of the convent of Santa Isabel in Toledo, the transfer of a parish church to the convent's ownership. Gifts in cash were usually donated for a specific project: for example, the Marquises of Villena donated 1.687,500 mrs for the building of the church and sacristy in the convent of the Immaculate Conception in Escalona.

A proportion of conventual annual income was derived from the payments received from censos or juros levied on urban and rural properties, or from censo payments which represented interest payments on capital loans.[283] These censos and juros were either bought by the convent as a safe investment or were inherited by individual nuns and subsequently annexed to the mesa capitular. They were also used as a means of paying a nun's dowry, or were donated to a convent as a gift by patrons and benefactors. We have several examples of donors paying the dowry of a female relative in the form of censos and juros. The main initial advantage to the donor was that large capital sums were not required and the dowry could be paid off in smaller, more manageable, instalments. However, in the long term, the main beneficiary of this type of system was undoubtedly the convent, as the censo and juro donated was usually hereditary and perpetual. The convent would thus continue to receive an annual remittance long after the original dowry had been paid off. There were, nonetheless, some inbuilt disadvantages to this 'credit' system of dowry payments. Firstly, there was the logistical problem of the physical collection of the annual payment, particularly if the juro was levied on a sales tax in a town geographically distant from the convent. This problem of non-payment of a juro is graphically illustrated by the repeated attempts made by the nuns of Calabazanos to exact payment on a juro levied in Córdoba. A more serious disadvantage to the system, however, was the fact that the annual amount was fixed, and in the long term the value of the censo was eroded in comparison to

the value of the property. The impact of this income erosion would of course have been minimal at times of low inflation, but in sixtenth-century Castile, when prices spiralled as a result of the influx of American bullion, the financial weakness of this type of economic system was manifest.[284] The 'price revolution' must have had serious ramifications for religious communities, and, indeed, for individuals whose finances were based on fixed annual censos and juros. This erosion, coupled with the large number of inmates the average convent had to support, must have placed many religious communities in a precarious financial situation. One way to weather this crisis was to restrict the number of inmates and /or to raise the entrance fee for potential recruits. And indeed there are some indications that this happened during the period in question.

The amount donated as a dowry reflected to some extent the social status of the novice and that of her convent. Although surviving evidence is fragmentary, it is possible to discern the existence of a hierarchy in the Franciscan communities of the period. Any distinction made between convents of Poor Clares, tertiaries, Conceptionists, and beatas on the basis of a 'sliding scale' of social respectability would be misleading - indeed impossible to substantiate. Yet it is true that some beaterios attracted women who could not afford to pay the dowry fee demanded by regular convents. On the other hand, communities of beatas were often established by wealthy widows and later transformed into official communities. Two of the

daughters of the Marquises of Villena were members of a beaterio which later developed into the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Santa Concepción in Escalona. The crucial factor, therefore, was not necessarily wealth or social status, but an interplay of other factors, such as the desire to adopt enclosure, or the building of a convent church, or donations and endowments from patrons and benefactors. Moreover, in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Cisneros' campaign to institutionalise and impose enclosure on beaterios served to blur distinctions between beatas and nuns.[285] The official attitudes of the church hierarchy therefore seem to have been a more important variable than the wealth or social status of beatas in affecting the transition from beaterio to convent.

These arguments apart, the Castilian elite nonetheless seems to have preferred an enclosed convent for female relatives rather than an informal beaterio. The selection of this type of institution may be linked to the desire to establish a lineage convent. The choices of convent, of course, varied according to circumstances. The convent of Santa María de la Consolación in Calabazanos was the first choice for Manrique de Lara women from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. Members of the Pacheco family entered convents which were geographically distant from their casa solar, or, as in the case of Nuestra Senora de la Santa Concepcion in Escalona, had their own endowed convent. The possession of a lineage convent seems to have marked the culmination of a long process in the

acquisition of wealth and political power - a process which in many instances had begun with the accession of the Trastamaran dynasty at the end of the fourteenth century. The establishment of a religious community in one's family lands served to symbolise the polical and social status of the family. Some noblewomen expressed a preference for a particular convent; for example, dona Isabel de Pacheco chose to enter a Franciscan house in Baza, only later transferring to her sister's new foundation in Montilla. The transfer from one convent to another seems to have been fairly common among this class of women. Documents drawn up before a women entered a convent frequently stipulated which gifts and income were specifically excluded from the mesa capitular and remained the personal property of the novice which she could take with her to another convent. Transfers were authorised by papal licence and were most likely attainable by those families with considerable financial resources.

It is possible from the surviving evidence to estimate the cost of founding a titulo lineage convent. There are close parallels between the amount spent by the Fernández de Córdoba in Andalusia and by the Pacheco in Escalona. In 1503, doña Catalina Pacheco, widow of don Alonso de Aguilar and sister of the Marquis of Villena, bequeathed 1.250.000 mrs for the foundation of a Franciscan house.[286] At about the same time, her daughter, dona Elvira de Herrera, left 2.000.000 mrs for the establishment of a convent in Córdoba. In the 1520s, the Marquises of Villena endowed a convent in Escalona with an

annual sum of 140.000 mrs, or the equivalent of a one-off payment of 1.960.000 mrs. In Aguilar, in 1566, doña Teresa Enríquez contributed almost the same annual amount to her new foundation. Therefore, excluding the example of dona Catalina Pacheco, the average cost of founding a female titulo convent in sixteenth-century Castile was approximately 2.000.000 mrs in the form of a capital endowment or 140.000 mrs annually. One should also bear in mind that female convents were more expensive to maintain than friaries, as the nuns had to pay for the services of a sacristan and a confessor. In Aguilar, these two officials cost 7.000 mrs annually - that is the equivalent of 98.000 mrs of capital endowment.

The cost of endowing a lineage convent was not excessive, as the nobility were able at the same time to eliminate effectively one or possibly two claimants to their estate. The dowries which aristocratic women brought with them to a convent were undoubtedly smaller than those commanded by their marriageable sisters. In the letters of renunciation drawn up by prospective nuns such noble women renounced any further claims on their parents' patrimony in return for a large dowry which included their legitima. This practice increased the amount due to other members of the family or safeguarded the mayorazgo. The dowries offered to women who adopted a religious vocation seem to fall into three categories: titulo dowries which varied between 500.00 mrs and 700.000 mrs principal, or annual payments of between 38.000 mrs and 70.000 mrs; a middling group of patrician oligrachical nobles who paid between

64.000 mrs and 200.000 mrs principal; and those 'impoverished' noblewomen who were either given free places in convents or whose 25.000 mrs nominal dowry was paid for by a patron or another benefactor.[287] For women from more humble backgrounds who wished to adopt a religious vocation, the cost of a dowry was sometimes reduced in return for their carrying out domestic duties within the convent. There were, therefore, enormous variations in the amounts paid as dowries - these apparently being closely linked to both the social status of the prospective nun and her choice of convent. The great titled nobility were deliberately paying out more money than was necessary, as well as donating gifts such as paintings and religious ornaments in order to gain the entry of their female relatives to an aristocratic convent. Why did they do this rather than send them to a cheaper, but equally respectable, convent?

Several reasons can be put forward to explain this 'conspicuous comsumption' on the part of the nobility. Firstly, quantity was an important facet of the religious mentality of the period; hence, the spending of large amounts of money and lavish gift-giving was thought to reflect the family's spiritual worth.[288] Secondly, and rather more prosaically, women who brought the largest dowries were more likely to succeed to the promoted posts within the convent. Noblewomen were thus effectively buying their way into the top administrative posts - positions which commanded a considerable degree of power and authority. Thirdly, the placement of female relatives in a

convent which was identified with a particular noble or patrician family could be a means of cementing political alliances or affirming loyalty between one noble house and another. Finally, certain convents undoubtedly held a social cachet which made them powerful magnets for the widows and unmarried daughters of the titled nobility.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, then, and despite the non-hierarchical ideals espoused by St. Francis and St. Clare, the social hierarchy behind Franciscan convent walls mirrored to a large extent that of the outside world. Hence the top posts within a community of Poor Clares, tertiaries or nuns of the Immaculate Conception were monopolised by those with the greatest wealth and status. Other external social values also intruded into the cloister, with women whose families had been subject to Inquisitorial persecution being excluded from certain convents. Although there were enormous disparities in the amount required as a dowry among Franciscan convents, there are signs that these communities were becoming more elitist as the sixteenth century progressed. By the 1560s, the convents of San Juan de la Penitencia in Toledo and Nuestra Señora de la Coronada in Aguilar, among others, were demanding a minimum dowry of 500 ducats or 187.500 mrs. This large amount must have prevented many women from pursuing a religious vocation, and perhaps the large number of widows, beatas and solteras listed in the sixteenth-century censuses reflect this developement.[289]

The patrons of these female Franciscan communities were drawn from the Castilian ruling elite: *titulos* like the Fernández de Córdoba in Andalusia, the Pacheco in Escalona, *caballeros* and oligarchs in Toledo. All these groups contributed personnel, money and property to these institutions and, among the *titulos* at least, the foundation and endowment of a family convent became a monument to the social and political prestige of the dynasty. The Manrique buried their dead in the convent of Poor Clares in Calabazanos, the Sotomayor in Belalcazar.[290] The Pacheco transferred the family pantheon in the early seventeenth century from the Jeronymite monastery of El Parral to the convent of the Immaculate Conception in Escalona.[291] The possession of a lineage convent functioned on several levels: the family pantheon served as an enduring monument to the greatness of the dynasty; the establishment of chantries was a guarantee of their salvation in the afterlife; and the presence of female relatives as members of an Order dedicated to poverty allowed other family members to participate vicariously in a life of piety and asceticism whilst retaining their temporal wealth and status.

CHAPTER 6

FEMALE SPIRITUALITY AND THE VISIONARY PHENOMENON

Introduction

In the early years of the sixteenth century a special papal commission was set up to investigate charges made against a female Dominican tertiary from a small village near Avila. This woman was at that time something of a cult figure due mainly to her apparent ability to experience trances and raptures almost at will. In 1509, Pietro Martire de Anghiera, the humanist scholar, alluded to her in a letter written from Valladolid:

> 'She has been taken to the Court. The King, the Cardinal Primate of Spain, as well as members of the nobility, have visited her. They call her the beata. She has ecstatic fits, during which her limbs remain rigid like tree trunks; she remains stretched out without any sensation in her limbs, and without the pallour of a living person, enraptured in a divine fury, like one reads about in the Sibyls...With this type of behaviour (one is tempted to say nonsense) she has enchanted the entire Court.....'[1]

Sor María de Santo Domingo, or the beata of Piedrahita as she was more commonly known, emerged from the investigation with her reputation for saintliness untarnished, and indeed fully endorsed by the papal commissioners.

This beata was consulted by Cardinal Cisneros on important questions, such as the conquest of Oran, and by Ferdinand the Catholic, who wished to know whether he would live to see his own personal conquest of Jerusalem. Moreover, one of the most prominent nobles in Castile, the Duke of Alba, had a magnificent convent built for her in Aldenueva, near Avila.[2] Nor was the beata unique in the visionary and prophetic services she offerd royalty, and ecclesiastical and lay dignitaries. Mother Marta, a Benedictine nun in Toledo, doña María de Toledo, abbess of St.Isabel in Toledo, and doña Juana de la Cruz, abbess of Cubas, were all spiritual mentors of the 'Gran Cardenal.[3] In the 1520s, Magdalena de la Cruz, a Franciscan nun in the convent of Santa Isabel in Córdoba, exerted a similar influence over Charles V, Alonso Manrique, the Inquisitor General, and Fr.Francisco de los Angeles Quiñones, General of the Franciscan Order.[4]

By the late 1530s, however, the note of scepticism expressed by Pietro Martire at the beginning of the century as to the veracity of the visions and revelations experienced by the Dominican beata, had become more pronounced and vociferous. Fr. Luis de Maluenda, a Franciscan friar in Burgos, denounced the mania, prevalent

among all the social groups in Castile, of devotion to, and belief in, the powers and marvels of 'holy women' and visionaries. This current fad, according to the friar, was a dangerous breeding ground for heresy, and was the harbinger of both the coming of the Antichrist and the end of the world.[5] These apocalyptic utterances by the friar reflected a growing disillusionment with the previous period of religious and spiritual innovation which had spawned groups of *recogidos*, *dejados*, Erasmians and visionary *beatas*.[6] In the 1540s, disillusionment with female visionaries and prophetesses had developed, in certain cases, into outright repression. In 1546, Magdalena de la Cruz, the Franciscan nun from Cordoba, was sentenced to life imprisonment in the convent of Andújar by the Córdoba Inquisition.[7] While the essential characteristics of visionary women, such as their penchant for revelations, prophecies, and fainting fits remained unchanged, the attitude of those in authority had altered dramatically, with the visionaries being perceived not as saints but as agents of the devil. This campaign of clamping down on 'revelationary nuns' continued throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with many women being condemned as *ilusas* or imposters.

The period of visionary success was therefore shortlived but was nonetheless significant: the appearance of visionary women coincided with a time when the Franciscan Order exerted an unprecedented influence in the highest political and ecclesiastical circles, and these visionaries were either themselves members of the Franciscan Order or were protected and patronised by the friars.[9] Why did the spirituality and religious experience of these women assume the form of visions, trances and fits? More specifically, to what extent and in what ways did the Franciscan Order influence the content of the visions and revelations?

The 'epidemic' of visionary women in early sixteenth-century Castile was by no means an uncommon phenomenon. Historians have frequently noted the contribution made by women to religious movements as mystics, prophetesses and visionaries. However, attempts to explain why female behaviour should have assumed this unorthodox form have been encumbered by questionable assumptions about the so-called female psyche. One starting point was that women, either naturally or through cultural conditioning, had evolved different mental constructs from men which made them prone to express religious feelings in a physical and emotional way. Fainting

fits, convulsions and visions, therefore, were in some way 'natural'byproducts of this peculiarly female mentality. As N.Z.Davis points out,this premise results in an unusual consensus of opinion between the medieval inquisitor and the sociologist Max Weber on the 'natural' proclivity of women towards the emotional and 'hysterical' aspects of religion.[10] Recently, and rather more sensibly, Vauchez has examined female spirituality and mysticism in the Later Middle Ages from the perspective of changing patterns of lay patronage. He points out that the shift of lay patronage from the friars to the nuns resulted in a new attachment to peculiarly 'female' forms of spirituality.[11] This new spirituality was actively promoted by the mendicant friars, and indeed an examination of the attributes of these new 'holy women' suggests that they were in part the creation of the friars. According to Vauchez, the typology of saintliness had been adapted to changing social circumstances. The chivalric, noble, warrior-saint of old had little resonance in the banking and commercial cities of northern Italy; these 'feudal' concepts of saintliness were superseded by those of poverty, asceticism and celibacy, and were associated more closely with women rather than men. These 'new saints'

thus espoused mendicant virtues, were frequently members of the Third Order, and developed unorthodox forms of religious behaviour such as visionary trances, loss of speech and appetite, and fainting fits.[12]

How far is Vauchez's thesis applicable to the visionary phenomenon in certain regions of Castile? Two of his observations seem to be particularly relevant:firstly the transfer of patronage from male to female religious communities; and secondly, the dynamic role played by the mendicant orders in promoting this particular form of female spirituality. With regard to the first point, we have already noted the rapid increase in the number of female Franciscan communities during this period, as well as the continued survival of informal beaterios in certain areas of Castile.[13] There is insufficient documentary evidence to chart a discernible shift of lay patronage from friaries to female convents, although the following observations can be made. In New Castile and parts of Andalusia, the titled nobility founded and endowed several convents of Poor Clares and nuns of the Immaculate Conception.[14] The imposition of Regular Observance, and the repeated admonitions at provincial chapter meetings for friars to divest themselves of chantries, and income derived from confraternities and masses for the dead, must have encouraged

some noble patrons to divert their charitable donations to the female branches of the Franciscan Order.[15] Regarding the second point- the dynamic role of the friars in promoting visionary spirituality- the evidence is far more clear-cut. The example of Cardinal Cisneros and Fr.Quiñones, the General of the Franciscan Order, have already been cited above; at the local level, the Franciscans were equally active in their support of female visionaries. The numerical preponderance of the Franciscan Order in Castile ensured that the ideas expressed by the visionary were Franciscan, although it is also true to say that the cults espoused by the Franciscans during this period, such as devotion to Christ's Passion or the cult of the Immaculate Conception, held considerable popular appeal. In addition, the fact that the most important political and ecclesiastical posts were held by Cardinal Cisneros, himself a Franciscan friar, must have had an impact on the official attitude towards female visionaries.[16].

Visionary women, therefore, emerged in an environment that was specifically Franciscan, and often placed themselves under the aegis of the Franciscan Order. The behaviour and physical symptoms experienced by

these women were neither unstructured nor haphazard but seemed to have conformed to an underlying, stereotyped pattern. At certain times, during mass, for example, the visionary would go into a trance or fall about in a swoon; at other times, she would receive visitations from the Virgin Mary and other saints.Some were endowed with curative powers, others with the gift of prophecy; some were assailed by demons, others were marked with the wounds of the stigmata. New 'vocabulary' does enter visionary behaviour, perhaps a reflection of an immediate, but transient anxiety, or it becomes incorporated into an official code. A crucial role is played by the visionary's audience - whether a group of Franciscan friars, the royal court, or a father-confessor - in validating her visions and trances, and thus ensuring her continued survival. By the same token, the visionary's behaviour and pronouncements are conditioned and constrained by her audience. An analysis of the visionary phenomenon, therefore,and the decoding of visionary language and behaviour not only reveal much about female spirituality,but also provide a window into the preoccupations of particular interest groups in sixteenth -century Castile.

The Visionaries' Geographical Orbit

Evidence of the activities of visionary women has survived mainly in Inquisition trials carried out in the tribunals of Toledo and Córdoba.[17] The beata of Piedrahita operated both in the area around Avila as well as in Toledo and at the royal court in Burgos. The powers and marvels of Francisca Hernández, who came from a small village near Salamanca, were well-known in Salamanca and Valladolid. However, through her relationship with several students from Alcalá and with a prominent Franciscan from Pastrana, her reputation for sanctity had spread to New Castile.[18] Other visionaries, whose influence was more modest, lived in the small and medium-sized 'rural' towns of Guadalajara, Escalona, Madrid, and Alcalá. The main focus of the visionary phenomenon, therefore, was in the towns and villages of the Archdiocese of Toledo. Other characteristics of the regions- and ones that facilitated the transmission of new religious ideas- were the presence of powerful noble courts in Escalona and Guadalajara, and reformed Franciscan houses either inside or outside the walls of every major town. These noble courts of the Pacheco and Mendoza, in Escalona and Guadalajara respectively, acted as a magnet to a wide range

of pietistic sects.[19] W.A.Christian, Jnr., points out that it was this type of milieu which was particularly conducive to the emergence of new spiritual sects:

> 'Certain rural towns served as headquarters for the large feudal families, with a small court, bureaucracy and archives, and perhaps a family-supported convent. It was in this kind of mini-city..that some of the unorthodox religious movements at the beginning of the sixteenth century were nurtured.' 20.

The strong Franciscan presence, particularly in Toledo and Alcalá, has been mentioned above, and W.A.Christian, Jnr., has further pointed out that Franciscan houses were also predominent in the countryside of New Castile, accounting for twenty one out of thirty five monasteries in towns with fewer than 1500 households in the late sixteenth century.[21]

The Demographic Poser. An abundance of women

As we have noted above, in certain regions of Castile, in Andalusia, Old Castile, and in the city of Toledo, large numbers of widows were listed in the sixteenth-century censuses.[22] The contemporaneous increase in the number of female religious foundations has also been pointed out, and a possible correlation noted. Despite the repeated attempts at institutionalisation, beaterios and other informal religious communities continued to flourish. The ambiguous status of beatas,

who observed the simple vows of chastity and obedience but were not obliged to observe the vow of enclosure, made these women the nearest female equivalent to the mendicant friars. Their lay status 'in the world', but clearly not on the marriage-market nor under the direct jurisdiction of the mendicant orders, makes them difficult to classify. Their status was hybrid, being both religious and secular, and their role was ill-defined and ambiguous. The most serious obstacle to their becoming socially acceptable was the fact that they were female. And it was from this particular religious and social milieu that the archetypal visionary would emerge.

Women and Religion

i) The 'Official' View

The Church's ideology of women was based on the premise that, although women were the spiritual equals of men, they were physically inferior.[23] Women, because of their reproductive function, were closely associated with sexuality and with the carnal aspect of human existence, whilst men were associated with rationality. Myths, such as the expulsion of Adam and Eve from the Garden of Eden as a punishment for Eve's sin, were devised to emphasise the connection between

sexuality and evil. In a Church staffed by celibate men, sexuality was undervalued: celibacy was equated with order and purity, sexuality with chaos and pollution. As a result of this myth-making and patristic propaganda, misogynistic mental constructs were erected which have proved remarkably difficult to demolish. In its most basic form, the medieval Church's anti-women stance was a form of control and acted as an exclusionary device denying women an equal and active role within the Church. The myth of Eve the temptress seducing mankind into original sin served the function of oppressing women in much the same way as Christ's Crucifixion was used as a justification for the persecution of the Jews.

The cult of the Virgin Mary fostered the illusion of recognising and esteeming the role of women within the Church.[24] The attributes with which the figure of Mary were endowed, however, were of a highly idealised persona, far removed from the concerns and aspirations of the average woman. The physically impossible ideals of virginity and motherhood were enshrined in the figure of Mary. In the Later Middle Ages, Mary's physical purity was extended to include spiritual perfection through the cult of the Immaculate Conception:

through God's special grace, Mary alone of all mankind had been preserved from original sin. The sin of Eve, and subsequently of all women, had not stained Mary's soul even at the time of her conception. In thus singling Mary out as the epitome of physical and spiritual perfection, the Church was by implication disdaining the attributes of ordinary women.[25]

The cult of the Virgin Mary and of other female saints defined the parameters of female saintliness and women's role within the Church. Virginity, or celibacy at least, were prerequisites for any aspiring female saint: the exercise of female sexuality seemed to cancel out any other virtues a pious woman might have. Whereas male saints had been permitted to have wives, female saints were invariably virgins or celibate widows; many were young girls who had allowed themselves to be murdered rather than surrender their virginity.[26] Although female religious were accorded greater spiritual merit than wives, the mere fact that they had a female form meant that they had to be constantly vigilant as their bodies served as a temptation to themselves and men. Although nuns and beatas had taken the vow of chastity, their physical presence was thought to constitute a threat to male purity. They therefore had to be made physically invisible, swathed in a

habit and veil, and preferably enclosed behind convent walls. This identification of all women in terms of their bodies, or as sources of sexual temptation, led to their exclusion from the public religious sphere.[27] Women were denied a sacramental role in the Church, and the Pauline enjoinder that women should be silent in Church served to deprive them of the opportunity of delivering sermons. Celibacy, invisibility, and silence thus became the hallmarks of the saintly woman. The visionary social type, the freelance beata or secular tertiary, challenged the stereotypes of the saintly Mary and wordly Eve. Although she was not integrated into the official ecclesiastical structure, her quasi-religious status protected her from open attacks and insinuations about her morality.

ii) Franciscan Spirituality

There seem to be several elements in Franciscan thought which made the friars favourably disposed to aspects of female spirituality. St.Francis himself was fond of using feminine metaphors in his preaching; he talked of placing himself in the service of 'Lady' poverty. But, above all, it was the anti-intellectual and and affective spirituality espoused by the Observant friars which dovetailed with the visionary and

revelationary spirituality of certain women.[28] This spirituality, with its emphasis on a religion of the senses rather than rational thought, must also have appealed to women,who, after all, were excluded from attendance at universities where the more learned, rational theology was taught. Furthermore, the Franciscans' attachment to the cults of the Virgin Mary and the Immaculate Conception may have made them more receptive to female forms of spirituality. In the early sixteenth century, an emerging pattern linked together reformed Franciscanism, in particular recollect Franciscanism, Franciscan devotion to the Virgin Mary, and the phenomenon of visionary women.[29] The recollect of La Salceda, for example, produced several friars who either experienced visions themselves or who became closely associated with the visionary phenomenon.[30] One can surmise that the spiritual regime there must have predisposed its inmates towards a visionary spirituality.

The Franciscan attachment to an intuitive, emotional religiousity also led them to value the gift of prophecy. Female prophetic powers had long been acknowledged by this period: Nicolas de Lyra, a Franciscan writing in the fourteenth century, referred to these prophetesses as illuminatae mentis, made lucid

by special grace.[31] This facet of Franciscan spirituality explains why Cisneros consulted the beata of Piedrahita on whether he should cross the straits of Gibralter, and why Fr. Quiñones sought the advice of Francisca Hernández before returning to Italy.[32] Franciscan mariology, religious emotionalism, and a propensity to believe in prophesies, all prepared the groundwork for the appearance of visionary women.

Female religious observance

Evidence from the Inquisition trials shows that the town dwellers of the Archdiocese of Toledo attended mass and sermons, and took part in the periodic processions and pilgrimages to local hermitages. Some men and women seem to have experienced 'religion' as a more deeply-felt emotion than others. For this reason they were singled out for a mention in Inquisitorial depositions. For example, some sighed audibly during mass, others were moved to tears on hearing particularly stirring sermons, or whilst meditating on Christ's Passion and crucifixion. Weeping at times of heightened religious feeling seems to have been a not infrequent occurrence in this part of New Castile, as the term 'lloraduelos' had been coined by unsympathetic onlookers to describe those so afflicted.[33]

There is evidence that some women visited Church more frequently than was necessary. The reason for this more assiduous attendence is not difficult to find. Female territory or 'space' was much more strictly defined than that of most men, and public spaces must have been largely considered out of bounds for 'respectable' women. The local parish or mendicant church thus provided a suitable forum where married women, widows and beatas could meet and attend mass and sermons. More specifically, with regard to the sacraments of confession and communion, the level of female participation must have been influenced to some extent by marital status. The Church's ruling on abstinence from sexual intercourse before receiving the Eucharist, and the close association between the sacraments of penance and Holy Communion must have restricted the frequency with which married women received these sacraments.

The theme of lay reception of the Eucharist during this period has just begun to be explored by historians. There are some indications of a shift away from annual to more frequent communion. The growing emphasis given to the mystery of transubstantiation, the importance of the feast of Corpus Christi, and the circulation of Host desecration legends attest to a greater interest in this cult.[34] The Protestant rejection of

transubstantiation in the late 1520s ensured its unequivocal reaffirmation at the Council of Trent. However, in Castile, before the Council of Trent, some sections of the Franciscan Order and the embryonic Jesuit Order had embarked on a campaign to encourage greater lay reception of the Holy Eucharist. In the early 1530s, in response to the Colloquy of Marburg, Fr.Francisco de Osuna published a tract devoted to the mystery of the Holy Eucharist.[35] In this work, Osuna advised clerics, friars and nuns, as well as beatas and 'fervent Christians' to receive communion every Sunday; the rest of the laity, three times a year at the feasts of Christmas, Easter and Pentecost.[36] Before receiving the Host, a certain period of physical and sexual abstinence was to be observed. Yet the metaphors Osuna employed to describe receiving the Host contained very definite sexual connotations. The nun, or bride of Christ, who did not wish to 'enjoy' the presence of her spouse frequently, did not have much loyalty: 'La esposa de Jesu Christo que no deseagozar amenudo dela presencia de su esposo no tiene mucha lealtad'.[37] Frequent physical consumption of the Host or the Body of Christ, with its overtones of the marriage 'debt', was considered a sign of 'marital' fidelity on the part of the Bride of Christ. In Alcalá, in the 1520s, Ignatius Loyola recommended weekly confession and communion as

part of his spiritual programme for local women.[38] The Jesuit Order continued to recommend frequent communion throughout the sixteenth century.[39] In Dedieu's analysis of sacramental observance during a later period in the archdiocese of Toledo, he detected a direct correlation between the presence of Jesuit confessors and an increase in the frequency of receiving communion.[40] A Dominican friar, the father-confessor of the beata of Piedrahita, and one who played an important role in interpreting and publicising the beata's visions, also showed an interest in the question of frequent communion. In Fr.Antonio de la Peña's translation of the letters of St.Catherine of Siena, another Dominican beata and visionary, he gave emphasis to a section dealing with frequent communion.

Is there any evidence in the Inquisition trials of these developments affecting the religious observance of women? There was some disparity as to what constituted the 'proper' level of sacramental observance. Franciscan confessors considered weekly or fortnightly confession as a sign of devoutness, whereas a pious, married woman like María de Cazalla from Guadalajara, thought that confession once a month was sufficient.[42] There were some instances of women in Guadalajara

confessing frequently, and this was frowned upon as a source of scandal, especially if a woman was young. María de Cazalla claimed that Isabel Duarez, a young widow from Guadalajara, spent up to seven hours daily in confession, although Isabel herself admitted to only two hours. Even so, María de Cazalla considered this to be excessive, and advised the widow to spend more time at home attending to her domestic affairs rather than talking to friars.[43] Reception of the Holy Eucharist was a more public and visible act than attending confession, and there are many instances of beatas and widows experiencing swoons, tremblings and other visionary-type symptoms at this particular moment.[44] These will be discussed in greater detail below.

The scope for female religious activity appears to have been limited by considerations not only of gender but also of marital status. The local church, in particular the Franciscan church, served as a forum for female religious and social activity. The use of this religious space by women was sanctioned by their attendance at mass and sermons. In the sphere of sacramental observance, beatas and widows presented a high profile, as the Church's prohibition on sexual intercourse before receiving the Eucharist deterred married women from receiving the sacraments as frequently as their

celibate counterparts.

Women and the New Spiritual Currents

i) Female recruitment into spiritual sects

The nature and function of visionary spirituality is impossible to evaluate without a prior examination of the religious framework in which visionaries operated. In the first decades of the sixteenth century, Castile underwent a period of religious experimentation and innovation, and spiritual factors played a crucial role in molding and extending the visionary phenomenon.[45] The hallmark of this new mood was informal discussion of spiritual matters whether in the street or at 'prayer meetings' held in private households. The doctrine developed by the dejados and the recogidos - two illuminist sects which emerged in this climate of spiritual renewal - has been discussed above.[46] Certain affinities existed between the more exotic forms of recogido spirituality, with its emphasis on meditation and spiritual consolations, and visionary women. Indeed, the symptoms experienced by the visionary weaver from Pastrana, mentioned above, were indistinguishable from those of visionary women.[47] Women, however, were more likely than men to experience visionary symptoms, and it is this fact, rather than apparent similarities

between isolated individuals, which deserves closer examination.

The sect known as the dejados or alumbrados, condemned by the Inquisition as heretical in 1529, developed under the leadership of Isabel de la Cruz, a Franciscan tertiary from Guadalajara.[48] This beata had attempted to convert Cistercian nuns in Guadalajara to her doctrine of dejamiento.[49] She had also given refuge to Isabel de Texeda, a visionary whose bizarre behaviour had caused much scandal in Guadalajara.[50] It was, however, Alcaraz, her main disciple, who was most active in encouraging women to practise dejamiento or abandonment to the love of God. Many Inquisition witnesses claimed that Alcaraz had targeted his conversion programme on three particular types of women - on widows, beatas and doncellas.[51] In Escalona, for example, he had considerable success among the maidservants and ladies-in-waiting in the palace of the Marquis of Villena. He used the local Franciscan church as a forum for recruiting potential 'converts' where he would discuss dejamiento after mass or sermon. These private meetings between a layman and groups of unmarried or widowed women were a source of scandal in Escalona, especially as the women used to kneel at Alcaraz's feet, with their hands on their breasts,as

if they were adoring him.

> 'One day in Lent after the afternoon sermon,' one female witness reported, 'I saw Alcaraz on a bench, and seated around him were Doña Francisca, wife of the licentiate Antonio de Baeza, and Soria, the doncella of the Marquesa, and my ama, Catalina Jimenez. He was talking to them and I don't know what he was saying, but I didn't think that such a meeting was good, and so I left.....' [52]

In Pastrana, he lodged in the house of the widow, Elvira Gómez, on three or four occasions, and women would visit him there for private spiritual consulations.[53] He did likewise in Madrid where he visited the widow Méndez, whose daughter, Torre, was a beata and a follower of Alcaraz.[54] Through this network of widows and beatas, therefore, Alcaraz proselytised on the merits of dejamiento, in particular among the ranks of unmarried women.

In Alcala, in 1526-7, Ignatius Loyola and some other young men had set up catechism classes to teach local women the basics of Christian doctrine.[55] These classes were held in the households of widows or beatas and, like Alcaraz's activities in Escalona, they had aroused scandal and suspicion. One meeting was held at the home of the beata Isabel la Rezadera, who lived in the calle de las beatas behind the Franciscan church. One franciscan friar had gone to the beata's house where he saw three or four women kneeling and praying around

a young man. Displaying remarkable prescience, Isabel had told the friar not to be scandalised as the young man, who was called Iñigo or Ignatius Loyola, was a saint.[56] Loyola had taught these women to examine their consciences twice a day, once after lunch and once after dinner, and to confess and receive communion every week. He had explained to them in some detail about the difference between venial and mortal sins, and about the Ten Commandments and the faculties of the soul.[57] The activities of Loyola came to the notice of the Inquisition when rumours circulated of numerous women fainting during these catechism classes. It was also claimed that he was instrumental in persuading two noblewomen to go on foot, unaccompanied and begging for alms, to the Veronica pilgrimage in Jaén. Loyola had denied this charge, explaining that these two women had wished to travel the world, visiting the sick in hospital, but that he had advised them to stay in Alcalá, devoting themselves to the local poor and to the Blessed Sacrament.[58] Therefore, without magnifying the role of celibate women in spiritual sects, there does seem to be enough evidence in surviving Inquisition trials to point to a significant female presence and participation.

ii) The intrusion of the printed word: The Alcala printing press and female literacy.

A visionary spirituality, characterised by mental states such as visions, dreams and trances, and physical symptoms such as swoons and fits, did not, however, remain untouched by the printed word. A printing press had been established at Alcalá to cater for the students and staff at the newly-founded university.[59] Nevertheless, Cardinal Cisneros, patron and founder of the university, exerted a powerful influence over the type of material produced by the printing press, and commissioned the publication of numerous mystical tracts. For example, between 1504-12, Castilian translations of works by St.Juan Climaco, St.Vincent Ferrer, St.Mathilda, St.Catherine of Siena, and St.Angela of Foligno were produced by the presses in Toledo and Alcalá.[60] There were also some instances of selective editing: for example, Fr.Antonio de Peña's translation of St.Catherine of Siena's prayers and letters has been mentioned above; more significantly, in St.Vincent Ferrer's Tract of Spiritual life, the passage in which the Dominican condemned such mystical excesses as revelations and visions was omitted from the 1510 edition.[61] These mystical works were intended first and foremost for circulation among friars and nuns,

but, as Bataillon pointed out, Cisneros almost certainly wished them to be distributed among the laity, despite the possible danger of misinterpretation.[62]

The works of St.Catherine of Siena and St.Angela of Foligno must have been of particular interest to nuns and beatas.[63] Both these women were tertiaries whose mystical experiences took the form of visions and raptures. St.Catherine's mysticism centred round a detailed meditation on Christ's Passion and death on the cross, through which her soul was elevated in varying stages to a oneness with God.[64] She was impelled to practise extremes of asceticism, including the inability to eat or digest food, and eventually succumbed to an illness from which she failed to recover.[65] St. Angela too was devoted to contemplation on the minutae of Christ's suffering on the Cross, and her most profound mystical experiences took place during this spiritual exercise. For example, in the Franciscan church in Assissi, Christ appeared to her dripping with blood, whereupon she herself experienced the agony and pain of the Crucifixion.[66] During her visionary raptures, St. Angela sometimes suffered from temporary loss of speech or lost the use of her limbs.

In the early years of the sixteenth century, therefore, there had developed a tradition of female mystical behaviour characterised by visionary experiences and sensory deprivation which found literary expression in the works of mystics such as St.Catherine, St.Angela, St. Mathilda, and St.Bridget of Sweden. Cisneros had had these works ditributed among convents of nuns,and the possibility of a 'copycat element' should not be discounted. One should not, however, posit a direct causal link between the publication of these works at Alcalá and Toledo and the simultaneous appearance of women displaying visionary symptoms. An interplay of other factors conditioned the development of the visionary phenomenon; and access to, and awareness of,female mystical writers of the past was only one of these factors. Also the whole relationship between women and books, and the impact of literacy on women remains problematic amd merits closer scrutiny.

There are several scattered references in Inquisitorial depositions to the impact that the printed word had on women in this area of New Castile. One woman recalled seeing Isabel de la Cruz, the idealogue of the alumbrado sect, reading a book in a public square in Guadalajara.[67] The widow María de Molina from Escalona, and her two beata daughters Elena and Ana,

read an unspecified book on Christ's Passion and another on the meditations of St.Augustine.[68] Another widow, María Falconi from Guadalajara, borrowed Gerson's Contemptus Mundi and a book by St.Bonaventure from Alcaraz.[69] Moreover, there are some indications that literacy among a certain class of women was assuming a more active role, with women either writing books themselves or having books written for them. Isabel de la Cruz and Alcaraz were rumoured to have composed a book on contemplation; doña María de Arias, a widow from Guadalajara, was co-author with the Franciscan bishop, Fr.Juan de Cazalla, of a spiritual treatise.[70] María de Cazalla's written correspondence on spiritual matters was bound together like a book and circulated among acquaintances; Isabel de Texeda, a visionary from Guadalajara, enlisted the services of a cleric to commit her revelations and prophecies to paper.[71] The Dominican beata, María de Santo Domingo, was reputed to have composed a prayer-book, and the Franciscan abbess of Cubas, Juana de la Cruz, had her'sermons'set down in a book form.[72] The question of female literacy seems to have been particularly topical at this time, Fr.Francisco de Osuna, in one of his spiritual tracts, addresses himself to the question of whether or not women should be taught to read.

On balance, he decided that it was a good thing, provided that they did not read chivalric tales or books like La Celestina, and he deplored the example set by French women of reading the Chanson de Roland whilst their king was captured at the battle of Pavia.[73]

In Guadalajara, the impact of literacy on upper-class women seems to have been particularly marked, and not only were they reading books themselves but were also reading them aloud to illiterate women. A cleric from Guadalajara affirmed that he had seen many 'better-class' women and señoras reading books in the vernacular in front of other people.[74] And doña Mencía de Mendoza, a member of the local titulo family, stated emphatically in 1533 that, ' It is a well-known fact that literate women read aloud to illiterate women books such as the Scriptures and the Lives of Saints'[75] Two Guadalajara women, doña Brianda de Mendoza y Luna and María de Cazalla, showed a particular interest in the spiritual welfare and education of local women. Doña Brianda, the daughter of the duke of the Infantado, obtained the necessary papal bulls in 1524 which enabled her to found the female religious house of La Piedad.[76] This convent, which housed twenty beatas and ten doncellas, was organised along the same lines as Cisneros' earlier foundations of San Juan de la

Penitencia in Toledo and Alcalá; that is, the doncellas, when they came of age, had the option of marrying, in which case their dowry was paid for by the patron, or of becoming a beata in La Piedad with their dowry again being paid for by the patron.[77] Several of the beatas who entered La Piedad were personally nominated by Doña Brianda, which possibly resulted in a bias towards women from the upper classes of Guadalajara society.[78] Also, like the convent of San Juan de la Penitencia in Toledo, women whose predecessors had been tried by the Holy Office were barred from entry.[79] Ortega Costa believes that Doña Brianda was influenced to some extent by Erasmian humanism, as in the constitutions drawn up for La Piedad she emphasised an interior piety rather than external acts, such as fast and abstinence, and other mortifications of the flesh. With regard to the spiritual education of the beatas, Doña Brianda stipulated that literate women should read the Scriptures and other pious works to the illiterate.[80] As we have noted, this method of instruction was not limited to the cloister.

María de Cazalla, who was arrested by the Inquisition in 1532 on a variety of charges ranging from Lutheranism to alumbradismo, was a prominent figure among the many contemporary pietistic sects in this area of New Castile, and displayed an active interest in the

religious education of women.[81] She was married to a merchant, and through her brother, Fr.Juan de Cazalla, she was acquainted with many of the local Franciscans as well as the dejados, Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz . Her two eldest daughters, Catalina and Isabel, were given the typical upbringing of daughters of good families. They were taught sewing and embroidary by Isabel de la Cruz until the beata gave refuge to the controversial visionary Isabel de Texeda, whereupon their mother had them removed from the beata's household.[82] The two girls, unlike their younger brother Pedro, were not permitted to attend the university of Alcalá, and were educated entirely by their mother, who encouraged them to read the many spiritual tracts emanating from the Alcalá printing press. In 1529, they read the newly-printed Christiana Doctrina by the Erasmian scholar, Juan de Valdés. However, when the orthodoxy of this particular work was questioned, María de Cazalla had the book locked away, forbidding her daughters to read it again until the Inquisition had settled the question.[83] When the two girls reached marriageable age, their mother was faced with the dilemma of either marrying them off or putting them in a convent. María was perhaps unusual in her reluctance to force her daughters to take up either option against their wills. She did try to procure

a place for her daughters in doña Brianda's new foundation of La Piedad, but on the whole she had a low opinion of nuns. One of María's acquaintances, Fr. Gil López de Béjar, the imperial preacher, used to joke with her about her daughters becoming prostitutes rather than nuns, implying that there was liitle difference between the two 'professions' [84] María summed up this lack of choice for women when she said of her daughters:

> 'They are loved only for their money or their beauty. I haven't seen a Christian man to whom I would give my daughters, and I think it's all the same whether I marry them off or put them in a brothel ...I would like to keep them at home with me.....and until I see the world changed and improved, I have no option but to keep them here with me.....' [85]

María de Cazalla did not restrict her teaching activities to her own household, but also gave catechism classes to female agricultural workers and delivered sermons in other private households. In the village of Horche, near Guadalajara, she had given instruction to the woman who had been wet-nurse to three of her children, and to other female farmworkers.[86] In Advent 1522, she had visited Catalina Hernández Calvete, a widow friend who was known as La Cereceda, and she spoke in front of a predominantly female

audience. One witness recalled that María had begun by saying, 'I firmly believe, sisters, that you all want to go to Paradise...so love God and keep his commandments.'[87] She had then read one of the epistles of St.Paul, and had discussed its meaning. María apparently possessed certain oratorical skills, and her gift for public speaking was frequently praised by her brother, the Franciscan bishop. For this reason perhaps, she attracted a large audience to the house of La Cereceda. Catalina López, who was present in the audience that day, remembered that '... in the kitchen there were a lot of women, and María de Cazalla sat on some cushions beside the fire, reading a book.'[88] Another, Catalina Alonso, recalled:

> ' ..there were a lot of people there, and it seemed as if they were all women....I think that there were more than twenty women because the kitchen was big and it was full. María de Cazalla read from a book, and then spoke, and everyone was silent as if they were listening to a sermon.....'[89]

This area of Castile, therefore, in the early decades of the sixteenth century, became a melting pot for religious ideas, which fostered the growth of pietistic sects. Franciscanism, Erasmianism, and the effects of literacy all played a part in molding the spirituality of the laity. What was particularly

noteworthy, however, was the female dimension: Franciscan nuns outnumbered the friars by two to one; the exchange of ideas and books was conducted through networks of widows and beatas in Escalona, Madrid and Alcalá;women read and composed books,or had books read to them, and received bible and catechism classes in private households in Pastrana, Alcalá and Horche. The phenomenon of visionary women was thus yet another manifestation of this generalised mood of religious excitement.

The Visionary and her Audience

Although the aspiring visionary was aided bythe favourable configuration of political and religious factors in the first decades of the sixteenth century, the main impetus behind her acceptance and validation was her audience, whether her father-confessor or other laypeople who observed her in the local church. Through this audience, her visionary expertise was recognised and publicised, thus leading to the creation of a larger audience and the possibilty of her fame spreading over a larger area. Some women were employed on an ad hoc basis in noble households to carry out specific prophetic functions, such as foretelling the sex of a woman's unborn child or the man a woman would marry. Other women built up a select following from the

seclusion of their convent; whilst others were chiefly renowned for their ability to go into a trance during weekly mass. However, those visionaries who enjoyed greatest success were those whose audiences were composed of royalty, nobility or ecclesiastical dignitaries. These women either visited royal and noble courts or gave private consultations in their homes or convents. In general terms, beatas and secular tertiaries had a better chance of being accepted as visionaries than did enclosed nuns. Yet they were also more vulnerable to changes in public opinion, and could lay themselves open to accusations of having made pacts with the devil. To be a visionary, therefore, was a precarious existence: visionaries who enjoyed success and fame at this time would be condemned in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as ilusas; and, paradoxically, those nuns who experienced visions and revelations from behind convent walls were those who came to be regarded as orthodox mystics.

The father-confessor figure, or spiritual mentor, makes a frequent appearance in the history of female mystics and visionaries. Women like St.Catherine of Siena and St.Angela de Foligno were dependant on these men for the recognition of their spiritual gifts by the Church hierarchy. The father-confessor was the link between the

visionary and outside world whose function was to interpret her visions and revelations, which, it was assumed, she was incapable of doing herself, and to publicise her visionary experiences. He thus acted as the dynamic element between a woman and her audience. The father-confessor could also, in some instances, shield the visionary from charges of unorthodoxy. For example, Fr. Diego de Vitoria, at the trial of Sor María de Santo Domingo, answered any questions which the beata was either unwilling or unable to answer herself. He seems to have been with the beata during and after her visionary experiences, witnessing her attacks by demons, and her ecstatic trances and fits; only he and the Duke of Alba had been permitted to see María's miraculous stigmata wounds.[90]

On a wider scale, a visionary's patrons and devotees also exerted a considerable influence on the content of visions and prophecies. The woman was by no means a neutral channel for divine communication, but acted as a satellite for the political and spiritual aspirations of her audience. Again, it is the example of María de Santo Domingo which most clearly illustrates this point.

In the early sixteenth century, a power struggle had developed between the hierarchy of the Dominican Order

and a breakaway reform group based in Avila, of whom the beata was a representative.[91] As Beltrán de Heredia pointed out, there were certain similarities between this reform group and the Italian faction which had been inspired by Savonarola. These included '..the austere lifestyle, their short, narrow habit, their mystical dances, their mania for revelations and prophecies, their eagerness to celebrate processions, their style of singing.....'[92] Traditionally the Dominicans were opposed to visions and other excesses in religious emotionalism, but in Castile, the Franciscan Archbishop of Toledo, Cardinal Cisneros, gave his full support to this breakaway group.[93] As we have noted above, in a tract written by St.Vincent Ferrer, one of the Dominican Order's most important saints, a passage denouncing visionary excesses was omitted from the 1510 edition. One can surmise that Cisneros' influence was brought to bear here. More directly, he pledged his support for the beata of Piedrahita by giving María a Franciscan girdle to wear under her Dominican habit.[94] The most striking example of the crucial role played by the father-confessor in interpreting a woman's spiritual experience is illustrated by one of the beata's visions. Savonarola himself appeared to María carrying a rod and a palm, which she understood to mean that

the friar should be canonised. This dream evidently mirrored the aspirations of certain sections within the Dominican Order. However, Maria's father-confessor was unable to endorse this 'reading' of the vision and, although sympathetic with her viewpoint, he had to censor it by pointing out that the Church had condemned Savonarola.[95]

Success and Failure

Although visionaries tended to 'perform' in front of a sympathetic audience, there were also sceptics present whose viewpoints illustrate how the behaviour of the women was perceived by neutral or hostile onlookers. In Escalona, for example, the propensity of certain beatas to faint during mass was scorned by the dejados as being delusions of the devil.[96] In Alcalá, too, the women receiving instruction from Ignatius Loyola were advised that their swoons were caused by diabolical rather than divine intervention.[97] At the trial of María de Santo Domigo, a profound gap was evident between the 'irrational' Piedrahita group and the 'rational' Dominican hierarchy. Fr.Juan Hurtado de Mendoza, a representative of the latter group disapproved of the 'immoral' behaviour of María de Santo Domingo, of her close relationship with her father-confessor, and the fact that groups of friars spent entire nights alone with

her in her cell.[98] He also objected to the beata dancing in the church, a practice that sometimes led to the unexpected scenario of Dominican nuns and friars dancing together. These dances, he thought, were performed too frequently and with too much elegance to be spiritually edifying, even although María would usually pause during her dances to offer some pious thoughts on Christ's Passion or some other salutory lesson. María's confessor, on the other hand, denied that the beata had danced in the church, claiming instead that she had made 'celestial movements'[99]

Not only were certain members of the Dominican hierarchy sceptical about the veracity of María's spiritual gifts, but at the royal court opinion was also divided. Pietro Martire de Anghiera wrote that:

> 'Some people think she is possessed by the devil, others think she is visited by Christ and by angels...Our purple friar (Cisneros) praises the beata...Thus opinion runs in diverse directions, and time - the sage judge of all things - will reveal what I have to believe. 100

These sceptics were silenced in the face of the support which María received from Ferdinand the Catholic, Cisneros, and ultimately the papacy.

The success of a visionary, whilst largely tied in to the support of an influential audience, also had a chronological dimension. The early sixteenth century,

as we have seen, was a particularly propitious time for a female visionary, but a backlash soon set in after the success of Luther in the Empire and the alumbrado scare in the Archdiocese of Toledo. The career of Magdalena de la Cruz, the Franciscan abbess from Córdoba, which spanned both the liberal and repressive phases in public opinion, graphically illustrates this point. In the early decades of the sixteenth century she was considered saintly, in constant communication with God; in 1527, she was given the supreme accolade of being asked to bless the baptisimal robes of the future Philip II.[101] In 1533, she was elected abbess and was at the height of her power and popularity, despite the death in 1536 of one of her most influential devotos, Alonso Manrique.[102] In the 1540s, after a long spell as abbess, she was denounced to the Inquisition and condemned as a fraud. Her principal detractors were her fellow nuns who, together with the local tribunal of the Holy Office, drew up a catalogue of Magdalena's alleged misdemeanours and diabolical acts.[103] What was the decisive factor in the abbess' downfall - the conspiracy hatched against her by the nuns of her convent, or the hostility of the Inquisition? The vindictiveness of her fellow nuns, which is a common feature in the biographies of nuns aspiring to sainthood, seems to have been a secondary consideration. Much more crucial was

the attitude adopted by the Holy Office, and, presumably, by the 1540s, the disappearance of a previously sympathetic audience. One further facet to a woman's career as a successful visionary was the age-factor: the powers and marvels attributed to a young woman, and the kind of roles the young visionary assumed, were less readily acceptable in a middle-aged or older woman. Again, the case of Magdalena de la Cruz illustrates this point: the natural ageing process had rendered her miraculous pregnancy at the hands of the Holy Spirit ridiculous and unbelievable.[104] Hence, although there was a certain timelessness in some of the marvels attributed to female visionaries, there was an inbuilt obsolescence in others, linked to age and to changing cultural attitudes. The yardstick by which a visionary was judged to be either divinely or diabolically inspired was thus dependant on extraneous and constantly changing value judgements, and not on her own intrinsic merits.

The Female Visionary: A marginal social type

The phenomenon of female visionaries has been described and delimited chronologically and geographically, and the ways in which the visionary reflected and, to some extent, became the creation of her audience has been

discussed. The remainder of the chapter will deal with the question of why women were more likely than men to win acceptance as visionaries, why female spirituality assumed the form of gestures, fits and other physical symptoms, and finally what the nature and significance of the visionary was.

As we have noted above, many women who did not marry were absorbed by the growing number of convents and beaterios; others, perhaps those who did not have the financial resources to enter a regular foundation, followed their religious vocation on an individual basis. Some beatas, like Isabel de la Cruz in Guadalajara, supported themselves by teaching sewing to daughters of local families; others found employment as domestic servants or were reliant on alms and other charitable donations. However, on the whole, most normal channels for social and economic advancement were closed off to women, and, in particular, these 'atypical' women. There seems to be a correlation between a woman's social and economic marginalisation and the possession of visionary gifts. For example, María de Santo Domingo was the daughter of farm labourers from the province of Avila, and the obscurity of Francisca Hernández's social origins lends credence to the view that she too was from a modest background.[105] Magdalena de la Cruz related in her trial

that '.....she was the daughter of parents whom she had rejected because they were of low estate.' It is possible that there was a certain amount of ' class resentment' between Magdalena as abbess - a post normally reserved for women from wealthy backgrounds - and the other nuns whom one writer described as very prominent señoras from Córdoba.[107] In another contemporary tract a noblewoman observed '.... that almost all the women who wish to deceive people by feigning to be saints, are from the lowest sphere and from plebeian stock.'[108]

María, Francisca and Magdalena were handicapped or marginalised in three ways - by their class, gender and marital status - and thus stood outside the contemporary social structure. However, by a strange paradoxical quirk, these handicaps became the guarantors of their success as visionaries. These intrinsically powerless individuals were endowed with all sorts of powerful attributes, the mirror image in a way of the malevolent gifts of the witch. The appearance of visionary gifts gave these women an important, although ephemeral role, with their lowly social and sexual status providing the dramatic counterpoint. Marginal social types, such as unmarried women, shepherds and children, were frequently the recipients of visions and apparitions; their shared attributes of lack of education and simplicity served to validate the veracity of their spiritual experiences.[109]

The possession of visionary gifts brought certain social and economic benefits to María, Francisca and Magdalena. María was much in demand in royal and noble circles, and would go into rapture at the behest of someone like doña Germaine de Foix, the second wife of Ferdinand the Catholic, or doña Juana de Aragon, the King's bastard daughter.[110] The charisma of the beata's visionary performances seems to have been enhanced by paradoxical qualities: the humble peasant girl who mixed freely with royalty, nobility and church dignitaries; the young woman who wore her hair long and dressed in stylish, expensive clothes, but who imposed extreme fasts and disciplines on her body. Francisca Hernández seems to have had an equally strong appeal in Salamanca and Valladolid. The Salamanca Franciscans employed her as a spiritual mentor for the novices, and several students at the nearby university fell under her spell.[111] The latter seem to have organised a door-to-door campaign in search of donations for the beata: Fr. Maluenda, writing in the 1530s, most probably had Francisca in mind when he alluded to holy women who employ salaried 'pregoneros' to proclaim and publicise their sanctity and miracles.[112] Magdalena, unlike the other two beatas, was obliged to observe enclosure, and this reduced her scope for material benefits. Her convent, on the other hand, felt the effects of Magdalena's popularity

with an increase in alms and donations from patrons. Also her pious reputation must have helped her in her repeated election as abbess of St.Isabel.

The reason why female spirituality assumed this rather peculiar forms of swoons, raptures and trances is rather more difficult to determine. As a starting point, one must accept that profound religious feelings and emotions are not easily amenable to verbal expression. The writings of medieval mystics contain a multitude of metaphors and images through which the writers struggle to convey the depth of their mystical experience. The sheer ineffableness of the mystical experience may have produced an extreme physical reaction among women lacking literary skills. This spirituality, which was given both physical as well as a more transcendental expression, must also be viewed within the specific context of the medieval Church's silencing of women. They were not only expected to be invisible, from the point of view of the Church's sacramental functions, but they were also obliged to be silent. The 'language' and behaviour developed by female visionaries can be seen as a way of circumventing these prohibitions. Moreover, no voices could be raised in disapproval as the woman had an infallible disclaimer - the prophecies and revelations she received were not her own but of divine origin. One

final factor which lay behind the means of communication developed by female visionaries was the influence of the literary tradition of female mystical writers. The desire to emulate female mystics of the past must have been a contributory factor at a time when the printing presses at Alcalá and Toledo were producing the writings of St.Bridget, St.Catherine of Siena and others.[113] Two channels, at least, shaped and conditioned the 'language' of female visionaries: one was the tradition of female mystical behaviour, experienced by physical symptoms and hallucinatory phenomena; and the other, closely connected with the first, was the legacy of the Church's enforced silence of women.

The Visionary 'speaks': Decoding the language of visionaries

So far we have explored the phenomenon of female visionaries from the point of view of their social typology, the social and cultural context within which they operated, and the influence of the Franciscan political establishment which promoted and supported them. In this section an attempt will be made to weave these various strands together through an analysis or 'decoding' of visionary language and behaviour.

The words used most frequently to describe a visionary

experience were arrobar and arrobamiento (to become enraptured, ecstatic), transformarse (to turn into, to assume another form), transportarse, (to enrapture), revelarse (to be revealed to), representarse (to imagine), desmayar (to faint, swoon), and dar gritos (to scream, shout). A return to normal consciousness was described as despertarse (to wake up) and tornar en sí (literally, to return to oneself). Evidence of visionary experience has survived in incidental references in Inquisition trials, and in the case of the three most prominent visionaries of the time, María de Santo Domingo, Francisca Hernández, and Magdalena de la Cruz, in chronicles and contemporary correspondence, as well as in Inquisition trials. The pitfalls in assessing Inquisitorial evidence are well-known, although it is possible to circumvent some of these. In the first two instances, at least two conflicting viewpoints are recorded in the evidence. The problem of analysing Magdalena's visionary experiences is rather more complex, as the evidence is 'slanted' so as to prove that the abbess had made a pact with the devil.

The pattern of visionary behaviour and language can be analysed under several headings: visions and apparitions; prophecies and revelations; convulsions, fainting fits, sensory deprivation; asceticism and starvation;

the appearance of the stigmata; attacks by assorted demons. Obviously, some of these elements were interconnected, for example, a starvation diet and a propensity for fainting fits, or prophecies uttered whilst in a state of trance.

i) Visions and apparitions

There are indications that, by the early years of the sixteenth century, the Church wished to exercise a stricter control over the publication of visions and apparitions. Certain checks were to be carried out by specially appointed officers, under the jurisdiction of the local bishop. In 1515, the V Lateran Council promulgated a decretal which stated,

> 'We wish that, according to normal law, supposed apparitions before they are made public or preached to the people, should be considered from now on reserved for the examination of the Apostolic seat...[114]

Henceforth, therefore, alleged visions and apparitions were to be licensed and approved by the papacy. Recently, Christian has argued, with particular reference to apparitions in late medieval Castile, that by the early sixteenth century a cultural shift had taken place, and people were no longer so easily prepared to accept the credibility of supposed apparitions.[115] In his study he examined the incidence of apparitions and public visions of the Virgin Mary and local saints in specific

areas in the countryside, beside springs, vegetation and other kinds of natural phenomena. These apparitions he characterised as being 'local, devotional and protective'.[116] The visions and apparitions experienced by sixteenth-century beatas and nuns seem to have been qualitatively different from these earlier apparitions. The visions were no longer public but were experienced privately by the woman, either in her cell or in church, and were reported to her 'audience' at some later date. Her visions also served a different function from local and rural apparitions, as they were used to further and reinforce the viewpoint of particular interest groups in Castile.

The apparitions and visions received by the woman reflected the religious milieu of both herself and her audience. The example of María de Santo Domingo, a tertiary of the Dominican Order, receiving an apparition of the Dominican friar, Savonarola, emphasises the extent to which the beata mirrored the aspirations of the reform group within the Dominican Order.[117] Magdalena de la Cruz was visited by saints such as St.Anthony of Padua and St.Jerome, although, according to her detractors, these were in fact demons disguised as saints.[118] Her 'audience'of unsympathetic nuns and the Córdoba inquisitors failed to give the correct 'translation'

to Magdalena's visions, and the supposed appearance of a Franciscan saint to a Franciscan abbess was used instead to reinforce the serious charges brought against Magdalena.

However, it was Christ and the Virgin Mary who most frequently appeared to visionary women. Christ appeared in two main guises - either as the tortured, crucified Christ, or as the Bridegroom or Holy Spouse. The attachment to the cult of Christ the crucified, and an obsession with the physical details of his suffering, were particularly marked at this time, and seem to have been actively promoted by the Franciscan Order.[119] This was perhaps tied in with the sermons and calls to repentance preached by the Franciscans in Holy Week, as a preparation for the laity's annual reception of the sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist. St.Angela of Foligno received a vision of Christ dripping with blood whilst she meditated on Christ's Passion in the local Franciscan Church.[120] Christ appeared to María de Santo Domingo without his Passion wounds on the feast of Corpus Christi when he presented her with a gold ring as a sign of betrothment.[121]

The Virgin Mary made frequent appearances to María, and in her trial witnesses recalled how the beata would pause

before she went through a doorway and ask the Virgin Mary to walk through in front of her. The relationship which the beata conceived of existing between herself and the Virgin Mary was one of mother-in-law and daughter-in-law.[122] The former was venerated by the beata, because if she had not conceived and given birth to Christ, then she would have been unable to become his 'spouse'. This mariological devotion extended from the beata to the other women who took their vows in the convent in Aldenueva. According to one source, more than one hundred women entered this convent and they all took the name of María.[123]

Many of these visions and apparitions were received by women whilst they were in a trance or in a rapture. Juana de la Cruz, the Franciscan abbess of Cubas, distinguished between those visions she received with the 'eyes of her body' and the 'eyes of her soul'. For example, St.Francis appeared to Juana on his feast day when she was 'not elevated, but awake and in her full senses'.[124] She seems to have been the exception, however, as on the whole a woman's visions seemed to have carried more weight if they were experienced whilst the woman suffered loss of conciousness or went into a trance. Incidental references in the Inquisition trials suggest

that these were the 'proper' moments to receive visions: for example, a widow lay on her back in a rapture, somewhere in Guadalajara, and on 'awaking' she recounted how she had seen all the blessed souls in heaven. Another widow went into a trance in a public square in Guadalajara, and later claimed to have received more visions than St.Bridget of Sweden.[125]

Both the detailed accounts of the visions and apparitions experienced by prominent visionaries, as well as the vague references to the visions received by their more obscure counterparts, provide a wealth of detail on contemporary religious preferences and tastes. Devotion to the cult of Christ's Passion and the Virgin Mary figure prominently, and there is some interest shown to other saints and in the after-life.

ii) Prophecies and revelations

The most easily comprehended elements in visionary language, and the ones where the audience's influence is most discernible, were in a visionary's revelationary and prophetic utterances. In Madrid, in the house of the widow Méndez, and in front of an audience of dejado sympathisers, the beata Torre Méndez had a revelation which told her that Alcaraz was a great servant of God.[126] Similarly, in Guadalajara, Isabel de Texeda

prophesied that a new Rome was to be built near Guadalajara, and that the new Pope was to be a Guadalajara man.[127] No details have survived on the prophecies of Juana de la Cruz, but the Holy Spirit was reputed to have used the abbess as a mouthpiece for a period of thirteen years.[128] The prophecies of María de Santo Domingo are also difficult to evaluate as they survive merely as vague assertions, such as how she was destined to become the acquaintance of royalty and nobility, and that a monastery would be built for her in Aldeneueva.[129] The only detailed prophecy of the beata which has survived was one which went badly wrong: in 1516, she sent a prophetic message to Ferdinand the Catholic, on his deathbed, stating that he would not die until he had reconquered Jerusalem.[130]

There are also some difficulties involved in deciphering the prophecies of Magdalena de la Cruz as they referred to prophecies she had made twenty years or more before her Inquisition trial. In 1546, she confessed that the Devil had revealed many future events to her, some of which were proved to be correct.[131] For example, on the same day as Magdalena had a vision of the battle of Pavia, she had also prophesied the imprisonment of Francis I. The Devil had told her about the wars of the Communidades (1520-1),and about the marriage of

Leonora, sister of Charles V, to the king of France. However, as the precise dating of these prophecies has been lost, it is impossible to reconstruct the 'audience' or recipients of these particular messages. One can only surmise that they were aimed at a royal or noble audience which would give a favourable interpretation to the outcome of the battle of Pavia and the imprisonment of Francis I. Magdalena also referred to one unsuccessful prophecy which foretold the death of a prioress, but the name and religious order of the nun were not given and the meaning of this particular message has been lost.

iii) Curative powers

Some of the visionaries were attributed with curative and salvationary powers which were transmitted to their devotos either through physical contact, or indirectly through clothes, jewellery and other objects which they had been in contact with. A beata's girdle or belt seems to have been a particularly powerful talismanic object: Francisca Hernández was alleged to have cured the Franciscan preacher, Fr.Francisco Ortiz, of sexual temptation through contact with her belt or girdle (cinta or cordón)[132] ; Cardinal Cisneros gave a Franciscan girdle to María de Santo Domingo, with an injunction that she should wear it always, so that she would remember the Cardinal in her prayers.[135] This particular

beata was sent jewellery, clothes and bonnets by her followers, including a scarlet petticoat and bonnet from Fr.Antonio de la Peña, which she was asked to wear for a certain period before returning them, thus imbued with relicary properties.[134] Fr.Francisco de Osuna asked for some beads which Francisca Hernández had blessed and, as we have seen, Magdalena was sent baptismal robes by the Empress.[135] There seems to have been a popular belief in the supernatural powers which were transmitted through articles of clothing and through touch. For example, women who wished to conceive a male child were advised to weave an altar cloth and send it to Jerusalem where it was draped over the holy sepulchre.[136] Isabel the Catholic had done this and had subsequently given birth to the Infante Juan; and the Countess of Oropesa had found this device so successful that she had almost asked for the return of her cloth. The benefits derived from articles of clothing worn by the visionaries were more akin to the spiritual graces transmitted through relics, although the popular belief in the magical properties of cloths and materials may also have contributed to a willingness to believe in the efficaciousness of visionaries' relics.

Sensory Deprivation

i) Scriptural knowledge

An ability to discourse knowledgeably on the meaning of scriptural passages was a recurring motif in visionary behaviour. These discussions were usually carried out while the woman was either in a trance or in a rapture. People who listened to the sermons-in-trance of María de Santo Domingo marvelled at the arguments she put forward when discussing difficult theological questions:

> 'Sometimes in her raptures Sister María is accustomed to answering difficult questions on theology, or on the Holy Scriptures, or on things pertaining to our Holy Catholic faith..., on the glory of Paradise, on the pains of hell and purgatory, on the holy sacraments, but not on vain or curious things. Thus all who see her and hear her respond think that it is a marvellous thing that a poor, ignorant little woman like Sister María, who was brought up in a small village, should respond so well and sometimes better than a Master of theology and a man of great learning.'[137]

What did this particular aspect of visionary behaviour signify? If we take into account the type of audience the beata was 'playing' to - that is, an audience whose sympathies lay with the Savonarola-inspired reform movement, or with reformed Franciscans like Cisneros, who put greater value on a spirituality of the senses than on scholastic theology - then the meaning of Maria's

scriptural knowledge is clear. Study of theology and the scriptures in the universities was not essential and was inferior to knowledge obtained through faith and experience of God. The example of Francisca Hernández was even more explicit. On the request of her Franciscan devotee, Fr.Francisco Ortiz, Francisca offered her own interpretation of scriptural writings, such as the Sermon on the Mount, the Song of Solomon and the Apocalypse. The friar had been astounded by her grasp of the essential truths of these writings because what Francisca had discussed in three short words, theologians would have debated endlessly in long, arrid treatises.[138] In this context, then, we can see a sympathetic,'Franciscanised' audience responding to a message which they themselves helped compose - that scholastic theory and methodology were superfluous for communication with,and knowledge of, God.

The visionaries'mode of communicating scriptural and theological discussion, either in a trance or rapture or, in the case of Juana de la Cruz, the Franciscan abbess from Cubas, after a period of loss of speech, was necessary to pre-empt accusations that women should not speak about the Holy Scriptures. In this way they could deny responsibility for their pronouncements by pointing out that they had not spoken, but that the Holy Spirit had

spoken through them.[139] Fr.Francisco Ortiż had defended Francisca Hernández against this very charge by reminding her detractors that St.Catherine of Siena and other servants of God had done likewise.[140]

ii) Consecration and communion

During mass in Pastrana, María de García Alvarez Caballero would let out screams or moans when the priest raised the Host during the consecration ceremony;[141] at the same time during mass, a widow from Escalona claimed to have seen eyes in the Host.[142] In Madrid, a widow used to tremble uncontrollably at the altar just before she received the Holy Eucharist;[143] and a beata from Escalona would become enraptured after receiving the Host.[144] Ana de Molina, another beata from Escalona, described to the Inquisition how she had gone into a trance in the presence of Alcaraz, the dejado heretic:

> 'She said that while she was ill with certain faints, which would overwhelm her and leave her in a swoon, that one Holy Thursday, while she was attending a vigil of the Holy Sacrament in the monastery of St.Francis in this town, and wishing to receive the Holy Eucharist, she had fainted..while Pedro Alcaraz was present...After she had returned to normal and had received the Holy Sacrament, he came up to her and, thinking that she had gone into a trance whilst contemplating Christ's Passion, he had asked her what she had felt. And she was silent and did not answer him.'[145]

These examples illustrate how specific religious 'moments'

or ceremonies would trigger a loss of conciousness or some other extreme physical reaction in certain women. There is also some evidence that this type of reaction during mass was affected by the rhythms of the Church calendar, with Lent and Easter being the most apposite 'entrancing' period. At times when religious emotions were heightened, for example, during the consecration or reception of the Host or during Holy Week, significantly when most Christians were receiving their annual Communion, visionary women reponded with fainting fits, raptures, tremblings, and shrieks. These responses were 'translated' in two different ways. To the unsympathetic onlooker, the woman was either feigning saintliness, or hunger pains had caused her to faint and suffer delusions. The woman's devotos, on the other hand, 'translated' this response to mean that she was in direct communication with God at the appropriate religious moment - whether on reception of the Holy Eucharist or on Holy Thursday, the anniversary of the Last Supper.

The spiritual experiences of María de Santo Domingo and Magdalena de la Cruz in relation to the Holy Eucharist were rather more spectacular. Like her less famous counterparts in New Castile, María de Santo Domingo would become enraptured at the consecration of the Host, and

would weep copious tears on receiving the Blessed Sacrament. However, on several occasions she received the Host by miraculous means, rather than being given it by a priest.[146] Also, in her cell she had sometimes become entranced, while a mass was being said elsewhere in the convent, just at the time of the consecration. Magdalena claimed to have received the Host in the same miraculous way as María - that is, by the Host flying through the air straight into her mouth.[147] Her Inquisition trial records, rather more prosaically, that the abbess had hidden the Host in her mouth and had then let out a shriek, hoping thus to convince the other nuns that she communed miraculously. The implication behind the Host miracles of these visionaries was that these women had been singled out by God to receive the Body of Christ, not, as was normally the case, through the hands of a priest, but directly from God with no intermediary. It was thus a very special sign of divine favour and presumably a reflection of the woman's sanctity.

iii) Meditation and contemplative prayers

A diocesan inquiry was set up in Alcalá in 1527 to investigate the activities of Ignatius Loyola and his student companions.[148] Attention had been drawn to these students because several of the local women who received

religious instruction from them had experienced swoons and fainting fits. The evidence, however, presents some problems, as many of the women's testimony contains stereotyped responses, especially with regard to the symptoms they experienced during a fainting fit.

At least ten women suffered fainting fits as a result of a spiritual programme developed for them by Ignatius Loyola. Five of these women were young - two were sixteen years old, one was seventeen, and two others were described as mozas. Of the remainder, one was a widow, one a criada, another was the mother of one of the sixteen year olds, another was an ex-prostitute and was a niece of the latter, and another's marital status is unknown. Two of these women, Mencía de Benavente, the mother of the sixteen year old Ana de Benavente, and Ana Díaz, a widow, ascribed their fainting fits to mal de madre - that is, fits of the 'mother' caused by the uterus overpowering their senses.[149] María, a criada of Mencía de Benevente, was once struck dumb whilst in a swoon; on another occasion, she was alleged to have seen the devil, in the guise of a large black object, during a fit. The number and duration of fainting spells varied from woman to woman. Ana de Benavente had fainted three or four times since her last meeting with Ignatius, with

her faints lasting around one hour; María from Yelamos, on the other hand, had fainted more than twenty times. Leonora de Mena also used to faint frequently for periods of approximately one hour.

What had caused these women to faint and what feelings did they experience in this state? María de la Flor has left a detailed description of the training programme devised by Ignatius Loyola which had apparently caused this extreme reaction.[150] She was told that the training would take one month during which she should go to confession and receive communion every eight days; one week she would feel happiness, the next week sadness. Ignatius taught her about the differences between mortal and venial sins, the Ten Commandments, the potencies of the soul, and many other things. She and other women were told to examine their consciences twice a day, once after lunch and once after dinner. They had to kneel down and say the following prayer; ' Oh God my father, my Creator, thanks and praise for the many merits you have given me, and that I hope you will give me; I beseech you through the merits of your Passion that you give the grace to know how to examine my conscience well.' The women were, in addition, given a list of oaths which they should avoid, and they were warned that on thus

entering God's service, they would go through periods of feeling great sadness.

Ana de Benavente attributed her faints to this sadness she felt when she remembered the worldly things she had renounced, such as clothes and games. She described the constrictions she felt round her heart, when she was overwhelmed with sadness, and how she had rolled about the floor, and had to be restrained by other people.[151] Leonor de Mena described her faints in much the same way: when she remembered how much better her life was before, how she used to laugh and play, she would feel a sadness around her heart and lose conciousness. She too felt a tightening in her heart and rolled about on the floor.[152] Ignatius told her that the devil had caused this reaction, which would disappear once she thought about Christ and his Passion. In the testimony given by Ignatius himself, he repeated this point that the five or six women who had experienced fainting spells were being tempted by the Devil, but that within two months their fainting symptoms had disappeared.[153]

The phenomenon of women fainting in Alcalá as a result of meditation and mental prayer differs from other similar cases at the time in one important respect: the women were taught that their faints were caused by

diabolical temptation rather than divine intervention. This distrust of physical symptoms as a sign of God's favour was similar to the stance adopted by the dejados. Women receiving instruction from Ignatius were thus discouraged from indulging in fainting spells and swoons, and this lack of active support led to the disappearance of these symptoms. Therefore, again we see to what extent the support and patronage which the visionary received from her audience played a crucial role in endorsing and perhaps prolonging the woman's visionary symptoms.

iv)Asceticism and starvation

Ascetic practices constituted another element in the visionary's code of behaviour. These included wearing rough materials next to the skin, imposing disciplines on the body and, in particular, rejecting food. The inability to eat or digest food seems to have been considered a sign of saintliness. For example, St.Catherine of Siena was unable to eat for long periods, although her father confessor warned her that this phase might be a ruse by the Devil to tempt her to sin.[154] Her spiritual descendants in Castile used the same code: Francisca Hernández was reputed to survive on two fried eggs daily; María de Sto.Domingo ate nothing between 1507

and 1509; and Magdalena de la Cruz claimed not to have eaten for eleven years, but later admitted she had eaten bread, water and other things for part of this period.[155] María de Santo Domingo had given up eating meat and wine, although her Rule did not require her to do so. She had then stopped eating for short periods during Advent and Lent, and had stopped eating completely for a period of two years or more. In the testimony put forward by Fr.Antonio de la Peña for her defence, he admitted that María's inability to keep food in her stomach may have been caused by ill-health, but that most people believed that it was a divine miracle.[156] This 'hunger strike' by María and other visionaries could be expressing different ideas: it either signified that the woman was a saint and therefore had no need for normal physical sustenance; or, when coupled with the woman's frequent reception of the Holy Eucharist, that she was satisfied both physically and spiritually by the consumption of Christ's body.

v) The stigmata

The appearance of Christ's stigmata wounds was considered a sign of exceptional divine favour, placing a visible seal on a person's saintliness. The most famous example of this was of course St.Francis, and the numerous paintings and frescoes illustrating Francis receiving the

stigmata reflect the great popular interest in this theme. In sixteenth-century Castile, María de Santo Domingo, Juana de la Cruz, and Magdalena de la Cruz, among others, were reputed to have received the stigmata. Their wounds were, however, temporary afflictions and again varied in accordance with the Church calendar: María de Santo Domingo received a wound in her side on Holy Thursday in 1509 when she was twenty three years old; Juana de la Cruz was also twenty three years old when she received the stigmata in Holy Week in 1504.[157] María's wound bled at the same time every year on Holy Thursday, and Juana's wound, which she first discovered on Good Friday, disappeared at the feast of the Ascension. Although María did not have any marks on her hands and feet, she was reputed to experience the pains of these wounds during her raptures.[158] She would sometimes re-enact Christ's agony on the Cross, standing with her arms extended to the side and her right foot over her left one; when she tried to bend her arms, she was unable to move, just as if her hands and feet were indeed nailed down. On other occasions when she was in a rapture, her entire body went numb apart from an area around the top of her head, the middle of the palms of her hands, and specific spots on her feet. When these parts of her body were touched she would writhe about in pain, as if she were experiencing the nails being driven through her

flesh. Details of the stigmata wounds of Magdalena de la Cruz were recorded by the Inquisition as self-inflicted. She too re-enacted scenes of Christ's Passion and Crucifixion in her cell, inflicting marks on her hands, feet and side. She also had a special opening made in her habit through which she could display her miraculous wound. Like María and Juana, her stigmata wounds were not permanent, appearing only on certain days and alternating the appearance of wounds on her hands and feet.[159]

The Easter chronology of these stigmata wounds sent out an unambiguous signal to the visionary's audience: that the woman empathised with the suffering and Crucifixion of Christ on Good Friday, and that this empathy was given divine approval by the simultaneous appearance of the same wounds that Christ Himself had suffered. The visionary's stigmata also reflects the devotional tastes of the woman's audience, in particular the contemporary obsession with the cult of Christ's Passion, with all the minutely catalogued details of the pieta.

Virginity, Purity and Motherhood

There are some indications that the cult of the Virgin Mary influenced the type of roles assumed by visionary women and led them into confused, contradictory guises

of virgin, mother and bride of Christ - the whole spectrum of acceptable female roles being thus assumed by a young,celibate woman. Does this choice of role models reflect an idealised vision of womanhood? And did her gender allow the visionary greater scope in her spiritual relationship and contact with God?

The idealized vision of the Virgin Mary as both virgin and mother had an impact on both the visionaries and their audiences. Virginity and purity were the principal prerequisites for the aspiring visionary. María de Sto.Domingo believed that she possessed an immaculate purity and had been granted immunity from sins of the flesh by God; Francisca Hernández was considered to be as innocent and chaste as a two year-old child.[160] In order to justify their close relationship with these unmarried women, the visionaries devotees had to emphasise their chastity, innocence and absolute rejection of sexuality. This, however did not prevent either the women acting in a sexual way or being regarded in this light by their devotees. The beata of Piedrahita would kiss and embrace friars and other men who came to visit her, and sometimes spent entire nights alone in her cell with a friar.[161] Francisca Hernández was on equally intimate terms with her devotos and used to sleep in the same bed as the cleric, Antonio Medrano, although she was still

technically a virgin at the time of her arrestin 1529.[162] The type of imagery used by Fr.Francisco Ortiz, one of the beata's most fervent devotos, was a curious mixture of sexual and filial devotion. Francisca was his 'madre espiritual', his 'santa esposa' and the 'esposa de Dios', as well as his 'madre grande' and 'madre chiquita'. Sometimes he came dangerously close to identifying the beata with the Virgin Mary - for example, when he wrote: 'I have suckled at the spiritual breast of this most pure virgin who conceived me and nursed me in Jesus Christ, her dear Spouse.'[163]

Mary as the mother of the child Jesus was another aspect that the visionary identified with, or one that her audience expected her to do. In 1512, a Franciscan friar from Ocaña had a revelation in which he was chosen to father a new prophet who was to be born to Juana de la Cruz, the Franciscan nun from Cubas.[164] This revelation, however, was not received favourably by Cardinal Cisneros, one of Juana's devotees, who ordered the friar to be imprisoned and punished. The example of Magdalena de la Cruz was complete in her identification with Mary as the Mother of God. On the feast of the Assumption, that is approximately half-way between the Annunciation and Christmas, Magdalena suddenly announced that she

felt pregnant by the Holy Spirit; at Christmas she allegedly gave birth to a baby boy and her hair miraculously changed colour from black to blonde. The baby had then disappeared, and her blonde hairs were distributed among devotees as relics.[165] This episode of miraculous motherhood failed to convince the inquisitors in Córdoba who believed that Magdalena had fabricated this story so that she would be regarded as a saint. No precise details have survived on the dating of this 'miracle', but one assumes that it happened shortly before Magdalena's arrest in 1544. If the abbess enjoyed her period of greatest success in the 1520s, when she was still a young woman, then by the 1540s she must have reached middle age. Perhaps the miracle of pregnancy and childbirth in the menopausal Magdalena was stretching her audience's credulity to the limits.

The roles of virgin bride and virgin mother assumed by certain beatas allowed them to develop a more intimate relationship with both God and the Virgin Mary, an intimacy which is reflected in their visions, celestial contacts and dialogues. But more than this, these roles, with their obsessive emphasis on purity and chastity, seem to reflect an idealised vision of womanhood, made in the image and likeness of the Virgin Mary, virgin

and mother at one and the same time. This point is reinforced in the next section when we look at the form sexuality assumed in the visionaries' code of behaviour.

The Demonisation of Sexuality

Visionary behaviour not only transmitted edifying spiritual messages to devotees and patrons but also, sometimes, what were considered the malevolent aspects of human existence. The attacks visionary women endured from devils, demons and other assorted beasts can be seen as a metaphor for sexual temptation and carnality. In addition, there does seem to be a gender difference with regard to the form that sexuality assumed in these metaphors of evil. It is interesting and revealing to contrast the image of masculine lust with its female equivalent. Fr.Ortiz, the Franciscan devoto of Francisca Hernández, recounted a dream he had in which he encountered a lascivious young woman who wished to accompany him on a journey. The friar, sensing her evil desires, had cried out 'God free me from you! ', and had awoken from his dream, feeling tempted to sin.[166] An examination of the form sexual temptation assumed in visionary women reveals the extent to which female sexuality was demonised. In a letter written by one of the fellow nuns of Magdalena de la Cruz, the woman mentioned seeing

numerous black he-goats around the abbess' bed. The same nun had also seen a black man in the abbess' cell at midnight whom Magdalena introduced as an angel.[167] The beata of Piedrahita was attacked by a herd of grunting pigs in a friend's house, which she managed to ward off with the aid of a crucifix and holy water. At a later date, in the kitchen of her convent in Aldenueva, María was attacked by a strange beast who was described in the following way:

> '...he was a man from the waist down and a horse from the waist up, and he grabbed her and threw her into the hearth. She managed to get hold of the (fire) stones with her fingers..and began to recite the Creed in a loud voice. And the nuns heard her and came to her aid. 168

María seems to have been subject to regular attacks by demons, as friars reported that she was frequently found in her cell bleeding from the nose and ears, symptoms apparently of a demoniacal attack.[169]

The example we have quoted of male desire was straightforward and uncomplicated, whereas the examples we have of female sexuality were distorted and demonised - a reflection of the official view of the unnaturalness or obscenity of female desire. There are many suggestive parallels between the 'good visionary's rebuff of demons and similar episodes in the lives of female saints. The latter

were frequently willing to suffer martyrdom rather than submit to attacks by rapists, and were thus guaranteed a place in heaven. Male saints do not appear to have been subjected to the same dilemma, with their admission into the ranks of sainthood being dependent on more active virtues. A higher premium was thus placed on female virginity than on the woman's life and became the sina qua non of her candidature for sainthood. A 'bad' visionary, such as Magdalena de la Cruz, was one who had failed to ward off these attacks and had consented to have sexual intercourse with the Devil and other demons.[170] Despite her other qualities, therefore, Magdalena's alleged exercise of her sexuality transformed her from saint into sinner.

Conclusion

The phenomenon of female visionaries in early sixteenth-century Castile emerged in a favourable political and spiritual climate, at a time when Franciscan influence had reached its zenith in the archdiocese of Toledo, and , more generally, during Cisneros' period as Regent of Spain. Demographic and social factors also played a part in producing a man-poor or woman-rich population in certain areas of Castile. Many of these surplus women were absorbed by the burgeoning religious communities,

whilst others were integrated into the social structure as beatas or secular tertiaries. The archetypal visionary followed the latter vocation and was closely associated with the mendicant orders, particularly the Franciscans who constituted the largest religious order in Castile. The religiosity of visionaries was exhibitionist and physical, and an examination of the patterning of visionary symptoms reveals contemporary aspirations and anxieties about the Church, salvation and the after-life. The decoding of visionary language also reveals popular beliefs about what may be termed the 'ideology' of women. Chastity and purity were considered a woman's greatest attributes. The parameters of female participation in the Church and in religion were carefully defined, and a woman's ideas and preferences were held not to be her own but those of Christ and the Holy Spirit working through her. Failure to observe these parameters, or outright transgression, was due to the Devil tempting a woman. Interestingly, only in making a pact with the Devil was she accorded an equality of responsibility and an active role. However, like Eve, in the Garden of Eden, the end result of this equality of sinfulness was the woman's condemnation and downfall. An ideology such as this, although outwardly giving the visionaries the appearance of power and influence, ultimately functioned to repress and restrain

female visionaries in particular, and women in general.

This ideology of repression and social control is graphically illustrated by a sermon written by the famous Dominican preacher, Fr.Luis de Granada, in 1588, in response to the public exposure and condemnation of the Portuguese nun, Sor María de la Visitación.[171] The friar denounced the abuses committed by holy women who earned their living by feigning visions and revelations from God. He told them to avoid the houses of noblewomen where they were required to advise on marriages, children and illness, and 'not to visit other people's houses, selling santidad in order to earn a living.'[172] Moreover, he also wished women, in particular young women and young widows, to restrict their attendance at church and their sacramental observance. Instead of going out to church frequently they were to 'bring the church to their houses', and when they went to confession their visits had to be brief.[173] This call to restrict female religious activity to the home, and to subject women to even more stringent social control, sounded the death-knell for visionaries and holy women. Although these women continued to appear in the Inquisition records, they were no longer venerated but were condemned

as 'ilusas'.[174] These beatas displayed the same symptoms as their pre-Tridentine counterparts, but communication through body signs and mental states was already becoming an archaic language. Female religiosity was obliged to find expression through different types of cults and devotions, preferably those which could be practised in private rather than in the public sphere.

APPENDIX 1-i

FRANCISCAN FOUNDATIONS UP TO c. 1570

PROVINCE	TOWN	NAME	DATE OF FOUNDATION
SANTIAGO	Santiago	S. Francisco	1214
	Santiago	S. Lorenzo	1223
	Herbón-Pardrón	S. Antonio	1396
	Noya	S. Francisco	1356
	Louro-Muros	S. Francisco	1223
	Puebla del Dean	S. Antonio	1474
TUY	Pontevedra	S. Francisco	1274
	Redondela	S. Simón	1517
	Vigo	Santa Marta	1551
	Bayona	S. Francisco	1541
ORENSE	Ribadavia	S. Antonio	1250
	Orense	S. Francisco	1243
	Monterrey	S. Francisco	1325
	Ginzo de Limia	Buen Jesus	1523
LUGO	Monforte	S. Antonio	1503
	Lugo	S. Francisco	1214
CORUNA	Betanzos	S. Francisco	1289
	La Coruña	S. Francisco	1214
	El Ferrol	S. Francisco	1387
MONDOÑEDO	Vivero	S. Francisco	1258
	Ribadeo	S. Francisco	1214
ASTURIAS	Avilés	S. Francisco	1214
	Oviedo	S. Francisco	1214
	Cangas de Tineo	S. Francisco	1216

PROVINCE	TOWN	NAME	DATE OF FOUNDATION
PONFERRADA	Villafranca del Bierzo	S. Francisco	1214
	Cabeza de Alba	Nuestra Señora	1441
LEON	Astorga	S. Francisco	1216
	Benavides	S. Francisco	1460
	León	S. Francisco	1230
BENAVENTE	Mayorga	S. Francisco	1257
	Villalón	Sta. María de Jesus	1469
	Benavente	S. Francisco	1270
ZAMORA	Alcañices	S. Francisco	1542
	Zamora	S. Francisco	1219 (?)
TORO	Toro	S. Francisco	1270
TRASMIERA	Santander	S. Francisco	1270
	Laredo	S. Francisco	1431
	C. Urdiales	S. Francisco	1214
LIEBANA	Liebana	Corpus Christi	1502
(TRASMIERA)	S. Vicente Barquera	S. Francisco	1454
	Año-Escalante	S. Sebastián	before 1506
BASQUE PROVINCES*	Vitoria	S. Francisco	1214
	Piedrola	San Julián	1480
	Arganzón	I. Concepción	before 1506
	La Bastida	San Andrés	1447
	Orduña	Santa María	1488
	Bilbao	S. Francisco	1450
	Bilbao	S. Mamed	before 1506
	Bermeo	S. Francisco	1357
	Elgoibar	S. Francisco	1517
	Aranzazu	Ntra. Señora	1514
	Sasiola	S. Francisco	1504

PROVINCE	TOWN	NAME	DATE OF FOUNDATION
BURGOS	Miranda de Ebro	S. Francisco	before 1506
	Poza	S. Bernardino	1452
	Burgos	S. Francisco	1214
	La Aguilera	S. Francisco	1404
	Aranda	San Luis	1499
	Castrojeriz	S. Francisco	1326
	Santa Gadea	S. Bartolomé	1460
	Logroño	S. Antonio	1214
	Navarrete	Sta. María de Jesus	1451
	Nájera	S. Francisco	1521
	Sto. Domgo, Calzada	Sta. María de los Angeles	1535
CONDESTABLE	Villalpando	S. Francisco	1283
	Medina del Pomar	S. Francisco	1323
	Frias	S. Francisco	1500
	Sto. Domingo Silos	Domus Dei	1380
	Herrera del Pisuerga	S. Bernardino	1460
	Belorado	S. Francisco	1250
	Belorado	S. Victor	1559
	Fresneda	S. Bernardino	1451
	Fresneda	S. Antonio	1427
	Briviesca	N.S. del Puerto de la Salud	1424
	S. Esteban de los Olmos	S. Esteban	1456
	Elveinte-Salas de los Infantes	Sto. Domingo	1448
	Linares	Sta. María	1443
SORIA	Soria	S. Francisco	1248
	S. Luis de Gormaz	S. Francisco	1490
	S. Esteban de Gormaz	S. Francisco	1450
	Atienza	S. Francisco	1266
	Medinaceli	S. Francisco	1527
	Cogolludo	S. Antonio	1557
	Almazán	S. Francisco	1213
	Alfaro	S. Francisco	1547

PROVINCE	TOWN	NAME	DATE OF FOUNDATION
SORIA	Calahorra	S. Salvador	1552
	Cornago	N.S. de la Gracia	1458
	Vico	N.S. del Vico	1456
NAVARRE*	Olite	S. Francisco	1345
	Tudela	Sta. María delos Angeles	1372
	Tafalla	S. Sebastián	1266
	Sanguesa	S. Francisco	1266
	Estella	S. Francisco	1524
	Pamplona	S. Francisco	1214
PALENCIA	Palencia	S. Francisco	1240
	Carrión	S. Francisco	1258
	Paredes de Nava	N.S. de Esperanza	1430
	Reinosa	S. Francisco	1514
	Palenzuela	S. Francisco	1400
	Calahorra	N.S. de Consolación	1427
	Villasilos	N.S. de la Gracia	1409
	Sahagún	S. Francisco	1257
VALLADOLID	Aguilar de Campos	N.S. de las Fuentes	1570
	Valladolid	S. Francisco	1248
	Valdescopezo	N.S. de Esperanza	1429
	Peñafiel	S. Francisco	1260
	El Abrojo	Sta. Maria Consolación	1415
	Medina del Campo	S. Francisco	1387
	Olmedo	S. Francisco	1480
	Villalvín	Immaculada Concepción	1462
	Medina de Rioseco	Sta. María de Esperanza	1491
AVILA	Avila	S. Francisco	1387
	Arévalo	S. Francisco	1214
	Oropesa	Madre de Dios	1519
SEGOVIA	Segovia	S. Francisco	1250
	Segovia	S. Antonio	1455
	Villaseca	N.S. de la Hoz	1231
	Cuéllar	S. Francisco	1400

PROVINCE	TOWN	NAME	DATE OF FOUNDATION
SEGOVIA	Fuentidueña	S. Juan Bautista	1496
	Aillón	S. Francisco	1480
SALAMANCA	Salamanca	S. Francisco	1232
	Salamanca	San Antonio	1564
	Alba de Tormes	Sto. Domingo	1489
	Béjar	San Francisco	1340
	S. Miguel-Trevejo	San Miguel	1452
	La Verde-Mieza	Sta. marina	1455
	La Seca-Sobradillo	Sta. Marina	1502
	Ciudad Rodrigo	S. Francisco	1200 (?)
	Gracia-Castañar	Sta. María de Gracia	1430
GUADALAJARA	Guadalajara	S. Francisco	1397
	La Salceda-Tendilla	Nuestra Señora	1410
	Mondéjar	San Antonio	1487
	Cifuentes	S. Francisco	1488
	Alcocer	S. Francisco	1252
	La Cabrera	San Antonio	1405
MADRID	Madrid	San Francisco	1400
	Pinto	San Francisco	1442
	Pastrana	San Francisco	1460
PROV. OF CASTILE	Ocaña	Nra. Sñra. de Esperanza	1425
	Colmenar	San Bernardino	1570
TOLEDO	Toledo	S. Juan de los Ryes	1467
	Torrijos	Sta. María de Jesus	1503
	Puebla de Montalbán	San Francisco	1570
	El Castañar-Cuerva	Nuestra Señora	1415
	La Oliva-Lominchar	Nuestra Señora	1445
	Escalona	Sta. Maria de los Descalzos	1502
CIUDAD REAL	Ciudad Real	San Francisco	1397

PROVINCE	TOWN	NAME	DATE OF FOUNDATION
MESA TOLEDO	Alcala (2)	Sta. María de Jesus	1454
		S. Pedro & S. Pablo	1502
	Torrelaguna	Madre de Dios	1510
	Talavera	San Francisco	1494
ALCARAZ	Alcaraz	San Francisco	1443
	Villarrobledo	San Francisco	1569
MURCIA	Murcia	San Francisco	1230
	Lorca (2)	Sta. María de las Huertas	1467
		San Francisco	1561
	Cartagena	San Francisco	1549
	S. Ginés de la Jara	San Francisco	1491
	Orihuela	Santa Ana	1449
	Cehegín	S. Esteban	1566
	Alberca	Sta. Catalina del Monte	1443
	Hellín	San Francisco	1524
	Albacete	San Francisco	1487
	Segura	San Francisco	1532
	Oran	San Francisco	early XVIc
CUENCA	Cuenca	San Francisco	1313
	S. Lorenzo	I. Concepción	1569
	Belmonte	San Francisco	1430
	S. Clemente	Sta. María de Gracia	1503
	Villanueva	Dulce N. de Jesus	1564
	Iniesta	San Francisco	1549
	Valverde	San Francisco	1565
HUETE	Huete	San Francisco	1340
	Escamilla	N.S. de los Angeles	1525
TRUJILLO	Trujillo	San Francisco	1500
	Medellín	San Francisco	1508

PROVINCE	TOWN	NAME	DATE OF FOUNDATION
TRUJILLO	Badajoz	San Francisco	1385
	Zafra	San Benito	1480
	Belalcazar	San Bernardo	1474
	Herrera	I. Concepcion	1517
	Puebla de Alcocer	N.S. de la Paz	1543
	Hoyos	Espirítu Santo	1558
	Plasencia	San Francisco	1233
	Tejeda de Tietar	?	1561
	Garrovillas	San Antonio	1476
	Alcántara	San Francisco	1487
	Cáceres	San Francisco	1452
	Jarandilla	Sto. Domingo	1493
	Alburquerque	Madre de Dios	?
CAMPO de MONTIEL	Villanueva	San Francisco	1491
LEON SGO.	Llerena	San Buenaventura	1400
	Segura de León	San Benito	1477
	Guadalcanal	N.S. de la Piedad	1491
	Mérida	San Francisco	1528
	Olivenza	San Francisco	before 1523-4
	Lobón	Santiago Apostol	1564
	Hornachos	San Ildefonso	1530
	Fregenal	San Francisco	1563
SEVILLE	Seville (2)	S. Francisco	1249
		S. Buenaventura	1260
	Seville-Aznalfarache	N.S. del Valle	1566
	Loreto-Espartinas	N.S. de Loreto	1528
	Escacena	S. Antonio	1531
	Moguér	N.S. de Esperenza	1337
	Lepe	Sta. María la Bella	1430
	Ayamonte	S. Francisco	1527
	La Rábida-Palos	N.S. de la Rábida	1403
	Alcalá de Guadaira	N.S. de los Angeles	1250
	Carmona	San Sebastián	1447
	Ecija	S. Francisco	1473

PROVINCE	TOWN	NAME	DATE OF FOUNDATION
SEVILLE	Marchena (2)	S. Francisco	1530
		Sta. Eulalia	1420
	Osuna (2)	Madre de Dios	1528
		Monte Calvario	1549
	Utrera	Sta. María de las Veredas	1431
	Morón	Corpus Christi	1541
	Lebrija	S. Francisco	1570
	Antequera	San Zoilo	1541
	Arcos	San Antonio	1510
	Sanlúcar	Sta. María de Jesus	1443
	Jerez	S. Francisco	1304
	Puerto de S.M.	S. Francisco	1517
	Cádiz	S. Francisco	1562
	Véjer	N.S. de Clarinas	1552
	Gilbraltar	S. Francisco	1471
	S. Luis del Monte	S. Luis Obispo	1492
	Villaverde	S. Francisco	1350
	Constantina	S. Francisco	1434
	Cazalla	S. Jerónimo	1493
CORDOBA	Córdoba	S. Pedro	1236
	S. Francisco del Monte	S. Francisco	1394
	Arruzafa	S. Francisco	1414
	Monte-Adamuz	S. Francisco	1400
	Palma del Río	N.S. de Belén	1518
	Hornachuelos	Sta. María de los Angeles	1490
	Fuenteovejuna	N.S. de la Esperenza	1476
	S. Alberto de Monte	S. Alberto	1504
	Pedroches	S. Francisco	1510
	Chillón	S. Antonio	1510
	Montilla	S. Lorenzo	1519
	Priego	S. Esteban	1515
	Lucena	Madre de Dios	1558
	Bujalance	S. Francisco	1537

PROVINCE	TOWN	NAME	DATE OF FOUNDATION
JAEN	Jaén	S. Francisco	1354
	Andújar	Sta. Ana	1513
	Baeza	S. Francisco	1228
	Linares	S. Francisco	1554
	Ubeda,	S. Francisco	1234
	Alcalá la REal	S. Francisco	1545
	Alcaudete	S. Francisco	1500
	Beas	S. Francisco	1530
	S. Esteban del Puerto	S. Francisco	1400
	Villaverde	S. Francisco	1486
GRANADA	Granada	S. Francisco	1516
	Alhambra	S. Francisco	1495
	Zubia	S. Luis	1500
	Almería	S. Francisco	1492
	Loja	S. Francisco	1490
	Vélez-Málaga	Santiago-Apostol	1499
	Málaga	S. Luis	1489
	Ronda	S. Francisco	1485
	Guadix	S. Francisco	1491
	Baza	S. Francisco	1490

APPENDIX 1-ii

THE NUMBER OF MALE FRANCISCAN FOUNDATIONS UP TO c. 1570

Chronology of expansion: Thirteenth century, 53 foundations

Fourteenth century, 23 foundations

Fifteenth century, 98 foundations

Sixteenth century, 83 foundations

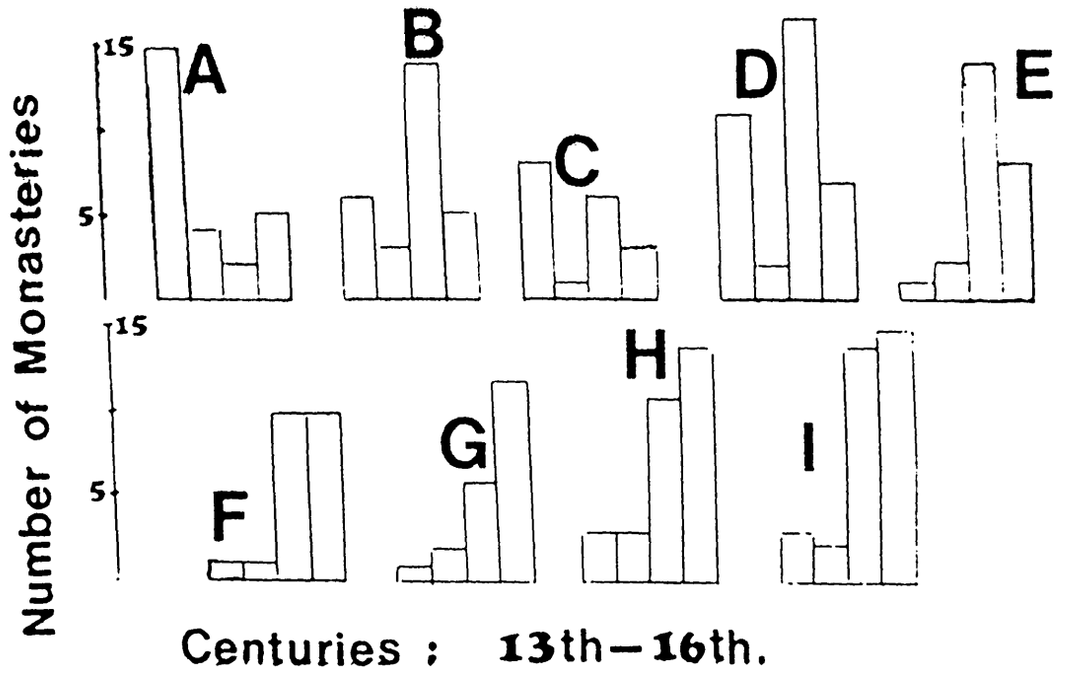
The majority of male Franciscan houses in Castile were founded between 1400-1570 (182 houses or 68.93%)

1400-9	1410-19	1420-9	1430-9	1440-9	1450-9	1460-9	1470-9	1480-9	1490-9	
10	4	6	7	11	14	8	7	13	18	= 98

1500-9	1510-19	1520-9	1530-9	1540-9	1550-9	1560-9	1570	
16	16	10	8	10	8	12	4	= 84

Note The precise foundation dates of five houses are unknown, but four were in existence before 1506, and one before 1523-4.

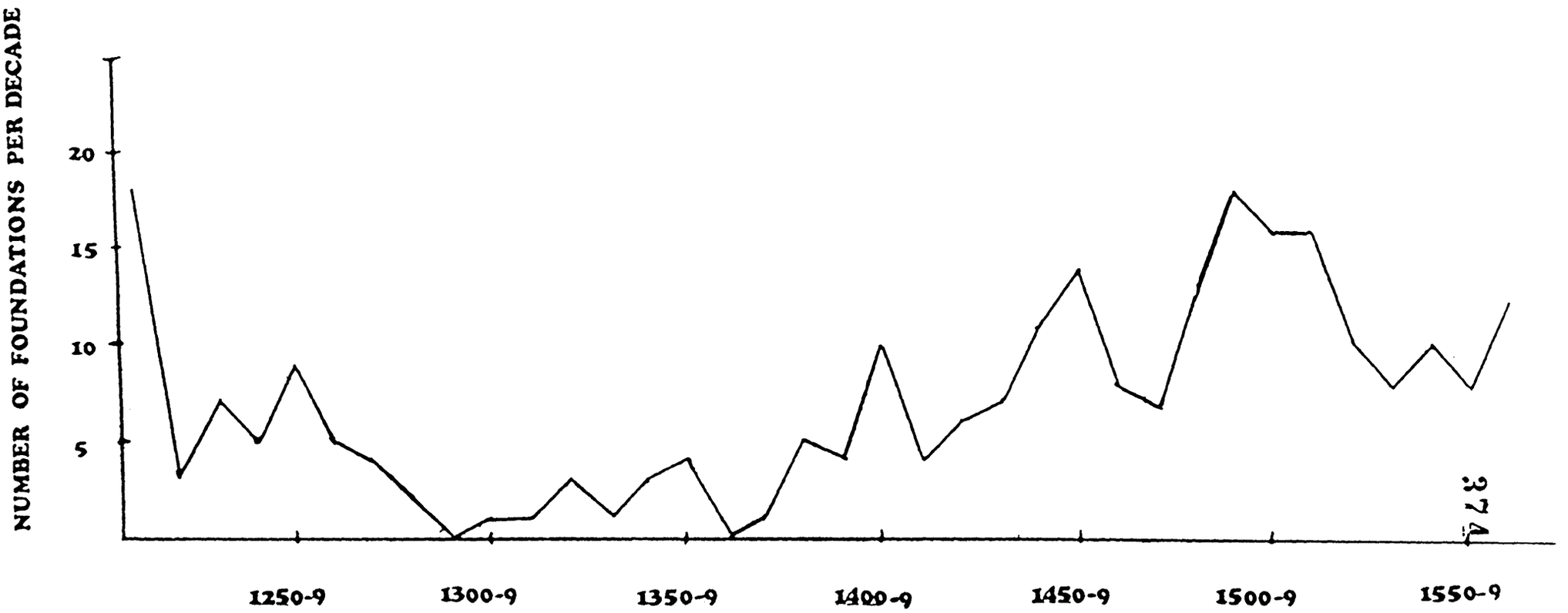
EXPANSION : GEOGRAPHY & TIME



A. North West (Partidos of Santiago, Tuy, Coruña, Mondoñedo, Asturias, Ponferrada).
B. Burgos, Trasmiera, and the lands of the Constable
C. Old Castile (León, Benavente, Zamora, Toro, Salamanca).
D. Old Castile (Palencia, Valladolid, Avila, Segovia)
E. New Castile (Guadalajara, Madrid, Prov. of Castile, Toledo, Ciudad Real, Alcaraz)
F. Extremadura (Trujillo, Campo de Montiel, León Sgo.)
G. Cartagena (Murcia, Cuenca, Huete)
H. Andalusia (Partido of Seville)
I. Andalusia (Partidos of Córdoba, Jaén, and Granada)

Appendix 2

EXPANSION OF THE FRANCISCAN ORDER



APPENDIX 3

DOWRIES, CONVENTS, AND SOCIAL STATUS

Social Status/Wealth	Convent	Date	Principal	Multiplier	Recurring
Titled Nobility: Villena	Escalona	c.1530	700.000	(10x1)	70.000
Titled Nobility: Fernández de Córdoba	Calabazanos	c.1501	630.000	(16.5x1)	38.000
Titled Nobility: Fernández de Córdoba	Baza	c.1513	500.000	(10x1)	50.000
Caballero/Letrado: Alvarez de Toledo	Toledo: S. Miguel de los Angeles	1516	200.00	(32x1)	6.250
Toledan Oligarchs: De la Torre; De la Fuente	Toledo: S. Antonio	1532	100.00		
Toledan Oligarchs: Ramírez de Lucena	Toledo: S. Miguel de los Angeles	1493	64.000	(32x1)	2.000
Free (Subsidised Dowries)					
Impoverished Noblewomen	Toledo: S. Juan de la Penitencia	c.1514	25.000		

Note:

i) By the 1560's, the minimum dowry demanded by the convent of S. Juan de la Penitencia, Toledo, and Nuestra Senora de la Coronada, Aguilar, was 500 ducats or 187.000 mrs.

ii) The dowries tabulated above cover the period 1493-c.1530. This was a time of fairly stable prices, and therefore useful comparisons can be made.

iii) The amounts of 'Principal' and 'Recurring' are given in mrs.

APPENDIX 4

TESTAMENT OF DONA

ELVIRA de HERRERA

A.D.M. sección Priego, legajo 2, Doc. 6, 9/8/1502.

Sepan quantos esta carta de testamento vieren como yo dona Elvira de Herrera, fija legitima del senor don Alfonso Fernandez de Cordoba, senor de la casa de Aguilar, que en gloria sea, e de la senora dona Catalina Pacheco su legitima muger, monja en el monasterio de Santa Ynes del Valle de esta noble e leal cibdad de Ecija, estando sana del cuerpo e en mi entendimiento e completa memoria tal qual plogo a nuestro Senor Dios de me la dar, e creiendo firmemente en la santa e verdadera non departida Trenidad, Padre e Fixo, espiritu santo, tres personas, un solo Dios verdadero, glorioso, que vive e reyna por siempre jamas, e a honor del e de la bienaventurada Virgen preciosa, nuestra senora Santa Maria su madre, a quien yo he e tengo por Senora e por abogada en todos mis fechos, e a honra e servicio suyo e de todos los santos e las santas de la corte celestial, e por que mediante la voluntad de nuestro senor Dios yo entiendo de faser profesion en la dicha religion, estando como al presente esto en mi libre poder e facultad para poder disponer de mi persona e vienes lo que quisiere e por bien toviere

antes de fazer la dicha profesion, quiero fazer e ordenar mi testamento e postrimera voluntad, protestando como protesto, que no embargante que yo faga profesion en el dicho monasterio de Santa Ynes del Valle desta dicha cibdad de Eclija, el dicho monasterio non pueda haver de mis bienes antes ni despues mas de lo que por mi fuere ordenado e mandado en este mi testamento, salvo las personas e logares religiosos a quien yo por este mi testamento lo mandare como quier que yo despues me pase a otro monasterio de la dicha orden.

E mando primeramente mi anima a Dios nuestro senor, que la fizo e crio e por la su preciosa sangre la redimio, e a nuestra senora Santa Maria su madre e ofrezcogela, e mando al dicho monasterio de Santa Ynes donde yo tome el abito e tengo de facer profesion ciento mill mrs en dineros, los quales mando que sean para alargar el coro, e que non se faga dellos otra cosa. E mando mas al dicho monsterio de Santa Ynes una cama de arboleda que costo setenta mill mrs, e un alcalifa que costo dos mill mrs, e un pano de grana para una cama que tiene diez varas que costo a mill mrs la vara, e dos colchones de lienzo de naval, e mas quatro almohadas de olanda labradas de colorado, e otras hazalejas de cambray labradas de oro, e dos sabanas de olanda que tiene cada una veinte varas de olanda, e mas una faldrilla de chamelote nueva e un

arca blanca, e mas un avito de carmesi de pelo q̃ue tiene honze varas, e un frontal de terciopelo negro de zarzahan, e dos corredoras de damasco, la una de tres piernas e la otra de dos, blanco e morado e amarillo, e mas una cassulla de terciopelo negro e dos reposteros e un almofrex, los quales maravedis e joyas estan en el dicho monasterio de Santa Ynes. E quiero e mando que los dichos mrs e joyas susodichas sean para el dicho monasterio e que las monjas del dicho monasterio de Santa Ynes sean obligadas a me facer en los tres anos primeros tan solamente despues que yo faga la dicha profesion las fiestas de nuestra Senora Santa Maria, una de la natividad e otra de la concepcion, e que el un dia de estos digan una vigilla de finados, e una missa.

Otrosi mando al monasterio de Sant Francisco de esta cibdad de ecija ciento mill mrs para que se acave con ellos el dormitorio, e lo que sobrase se gaste en el pano de la cabsura (?) que va al coro.

E mando a Catalina de Tapia, doncella que fue mia, treinta mill mrs para su casamiento. E mando a Antonia que fue mi criada cinco mill mrs para su casamiento.

E mando que se digan mill missas, tresientas de requiem, e tresientas de Nuestra Senora, e dosientas de Espiritusanto, e dosientas de la Cruz, e que se digan por el

anima del dicho senor don Alfonso Fernandez de Cordova, mi senor que aya gloria, e por la mia, en los monasterios de frayles de la orden de sant Francisco donde el reverendo padre provincial de la dicha orden que agora es mandare en el Andalucia, e que les den en limosna por cada missa medio real.

Otrosi mando que de mis vienes de den a mis albazeas diez mill mrs para que me digan otras seiscientas missas en los dichos monasterios de Sant Francisco de Andalucia, les dozientas de los angeles, e las ciento de Santo Antonio de Padua, e ciento de San Francisco, e ciento de Santa Clara, a ciento de la Natividad de Nuestra Senora.

E mando que se den al monasterio de nuestra senora Santa Maria de Guadalupe quinientos reales de plata para que los frayles del dicho monasterio digan por mi anima mill misas de nuestra senora en la capilla mayor del dicho monasterio.

E mando que de mis bienes se den dos cuentos de mrs para con que se faze un monasterio de monjas de la orden de Santa Clara de la observancia en Sant Ypolito donde el dicho don Alfonso Fernandez mi senor esta enterrado.
E que estos dos cuentos de maravedis se den a la senora Dona Catalaina Pacheco mi senora, o a quien ella mandare,

para que los gaste en labrar el dicho monasterio. E si por algund caso alli non obiese lugar de facer el dicho monasterio, mando que se faga en la dicha cibdad de Cordova en el sitio e logar donde el Padre Provincial de la dicha orden de Sant Francisco, que es Fray Anton Sangrelinda (?), e la dicha senora Dona Catalaina mi senora ordenaren e mandaren o que se rehedifique e concierte el monasterio de Santa Clara de la cibdad de Cordova con los dicho dos cuentos de maravedis en manera que se gasten e consuman en la rehedificacion e reparos de el. El qual dicho monesterio que asi mando fazer se diga por nombre el monasterio de Santa Maria de Nazared, e que se comienze a facer dentro de un mes primero siguiente despues del dia que yo ficiere la dicha profesion, e se continue fasta lo acavar.

Otrosi digo que por razon que el senor marques de Priego, mi hermano, tiene todos mis bienes e fazienda, e yo antes que entrase en el dicho monasterio de Santa Ynes fice donacion entre otros a la dicha senora Catalina Pacheco, mi senora, de un cuento e docientas e cinquenta mill mrs para que ficiesse dellos lo que quisiere e por bien toviese, e el dicho senor marques es obligado a los pagar a la dicha dona Catalina Pacheco mi senora por virtud de la dicha donacion; por ende yo pido por merced e suplico al dicho senor marques que, porque la dicha senora

dona Catalina Pacheco mi senora tiene intencion de venir e morar en las casas que el licenciado Daza tiene en la dicha cibdad de Cordoba en la collacion de Santa Maria, que son juntas con el monasterio de Santa Clara, que su merced gelas compre del dicho cuento e docientas a cinquenta mill mrs de la dicha donacion, para que la dicha mi senora dona Catalina more en ellas e faga dellas lo que quisiere. E asimismo le suplico que los mrs restantes de la dicha mi senora dona Catalina que los gaste en el dicho monasterio que yo mando facer, o en la rehedificacion del dicho monasterio de Santa Clara, esto si la dicha mi senora lo toviere por bien, e si non, que la dicha mi senora dona Catalina los haya e gaste e faga de ellos lo que quisiere e por bien toviere como de cosa suya propria e a ella pertenescientes por virtud de la dicha donacion que yo le hice, la qual desde agora apruevo e confirmo e he por buena como en ella se contiene.

E mando que de mis bienes se den a Fray Juan de la Rea(?), guardian del monasterio de Sant Francisco de esta dicha cibdad de Ecija, quince mill mrs para que los de a unos pobres que el save quienes son.

Otrosi mando al monasterio de Santa Clara de la cibdad de Cordova ochenta mill mrs en dineros que estan en el dicho monasterio de Santa Ynes en poder de la senora

abadesa, e con ellos les mando mas al dicho monasterio do Santa Clara las cosas siguientes: dos cortinas de damasco, la una de tres piernas e la otra de dos, las quales son blancas e coloradas e amarillas; e mas una casulla de carmesi de pelo aceituni, e otra casulla de damasco negro e otra casulla de chamelote negro; un frontal de terciopelo negro e de raso negro; otro frontal de damasco negro; otro frontal de terciopelo negro, e sarrahan; otro frontal de chamelote; un panesico con una ymagen de nuestra senora; un cielo de tercio pelo negro; una colcha de olanda; una arca verde ensayalada; dos savanas de olanda; quatro almohadas de olanda labrada con oro; unas hazalejas de atril; otras hazalejas de cambray; otras de olanda labradas con oro; ocho varas de manteles alimaniscos; dos albas, e con esto le mando mas un alcalifa de lana a colores, e dos almohadas de arbolada, e una estera morisca; dos arcas ensaialadas verdes con otras dos azules e otra colorada; e una cinta de oro; e quatro azorcas de oro; e ocho manillas de oro; e sententa e dos cuentas de oro; e quatro colchones pequenos de naval (?); e dos mantas frezadas e quatro almohadas de naval (?); e quatro savanas de naval; las quales dichas joyas estan en el dicho monesterio de Santa Ynes desta cibdad; e mas trecientas fangegas de trigo.

E otrosy mando al dicho monasterio de Santa Ynes desta cibdad onde yo thengo de fazer profesion ciento fanegas de trigo en limosna. E mando que en el dicho monasterio que mando facer se ponga un retablo que tenga en medio de el Nuestra Senora con su nino en brazos, e al derredor se tengan las fiestas de nuestra senora siguientes: la concebcion, la encarnacion, la visitacion, la natividad de nuestra senora, la asension, e Sant Francisco e Santa Clara, e que los mrs que fueren menester para el dicho retablo los cumpla e pague el dicho senor marques mi hermano.

E mando al monesterio de Sant Francisco de la dicha cibdad de Cordoba cinquenta mill mrs para una libreria o para qualqier otra obra que al sobre dicho provincial paresciere mas conviniente.

E otrosy por quanto al dicho senor marques mi hermano me dio una cadena de oro e unas cuentas de oro, e quantro manillas de oro, e un joyel, e un libro de oras guarnecido de oro, en prendas de trecientos e quince mill mrs que tomo mios en dineros, mando que se pongan las dichas joyas en poder de la dicha Senora dona Catalina mi senora para que ella las tenga fasta que el dicho senor marques le pague las dichas trecientas e quince mill mrs; las quales sean para que se pongan dellas dos capellanias

en el dicho monesterio que yo mando facer, e que tengan cada una doce mill mrs de renta, e que sean obligados los capellanes a decir cada uno veinte missas cada mes, e que sea patrona destas capellanias el abdesa que es o fuere de la dicha orden, la qual abadesa pueda poner e quitar los sobre dichos capellan o capellanes cada e quando viere que conviene, de parescer e consejo del dicho provincial que a la sazon fuere, e non en otra manera; e que las misas sean las que les mandare el abdesa del dicho monesterio, e el tiempo en que las ayan de dezir cantadas o rezadas o en tono (?) como ella lo mandare tanto que las sobre dichas misas sean por la intencion mia. E que en tanto que el dicho monasterio se face o el dicho monasterio de Santa Clara se rehedifique, la una de las dichas capellanias se ponga e este en el dicho monesterio de Santa Clara e la otra en el dicho monasterio de sant ypolito, e quedan alli fasta que el dicho monasterio sea fecho. E que despues de fecho el dicho monasterio o el otro sea rehedificado se pasen a el las dichas capellanias como dicho es. E que si las dichas trecientas e quinse mill mrs non vastaren para complir a cada capellan los dichos dose mill mrs de renta, que lo que mas fuere menester lo ponga e pague el dicho senor marques mi hermano.

E mando que dos candeleros de plata, e una campanilla

de plata, a un caliz de plata dorado que yo tengo que se de a la dicha mi senora dona Catalina para que ella lo tenga en su poder, e lo de al dicho monesterio que yo mando fazer e se ficiere, o a otra lugar que la dicha mi senora dona Catalina mandare. E mando que paguen a Pedro De Natara (?) escrivano publico de esta cibdad de Ecija todos los mrs que por mis albalaes se hallare que le devo.

E por quanto yo hice ciertas donaciones a los senores don Francisco e dona Luisa mis hermanos, las quales estan firmadas de mi nombre, por ende yo las apruevo e confirmo e he por buenas como en ellas se contiene. E asi mismo apruevo e confirmo, e he por buena, otra donacion que fice al dicho senor marques mi hermano, cumpliendo el dicho senor marques, como tenedor de mis bienes e fazienda, todo lo por mi mandado e contenido en este mi testamento; e non lo cumpliendo asi, que la dicha donacion que asi le fice sea en si ninguna e non vala, e quiero e es mi voluntad que non la haya nin goce de ella.

E para complir e pagar todo lo sobre dicho en este mi testamento contenido otorgo que fago mis albaceas a la dicha mi senora dona Catalina Pacheco, e al dicho senor marques mi hermano, e a Fray Anton Cabrera vecino de la dicha cibdad de Cordova, a los quales e a cada uno de ellos por si insolidum do poder complido en todos mis

vienes, para que luego como yo ficiere profesion sea publicado este mi testamento, e pueden entrar e tomar e pedir e demandar los dichos mis vienes al dicho senor marques mi hermano como tenedor de ellos e venderlos e complir e pagar todo lo por mi mandado e contenido en este mi testamento con acuerdo parescer e consejo del reverendo padre maestre Manuel frayle de la dicha orden de Sant Francisco, sobre lo qual les encargo sus conciencias. E todo ello complido e pagado, el remaniente que fincare de todos mis vienes rayces e muebles e derechos e acciones, mando que lo haya e herede la dicha senora dona Catalina Pacheco mi senora. A la qual pido por merced e suplico que los dichos vienes e derechos e acciones que asi oviere del dicho remaniente de mis vienes los gaste en labrar el dicho monesterio que asi mando faser o en la rehedificacion e reparos del dicho monesterio de Santa Clara sin sacar dellos cosa alguna, esto demas de los dichos dos cuentos de mrs que mando que se gasten en labrar el dicho monesterio o en la rehedificacion e reparo del dicho monesterio de Santa Clara, sobre lo qual le encargo su consciencia. A la qual dicha mi senora dona Catalina establezco por mi lixitima heredera en el dicho remaniente de mis vienes e derechos e acciones, por quanto non he ni tengo fixos nin nietos lixitimos que lo mio devan haver e heredar segund derecho. E renuncio e revoco todos los otros testamentos e mandas

e cobdecillos que yo he fecho e otorgado fasta oy ante deste, que mando que otro alguno non vala salbo este que mando que vala e sea firma para siempre jamas.

Fecha e otorgada fue esta carta de testamento estando en el dicho monesterio de Santa Clara de la dicha cibdad de Ezija, nueve dias del mes de agosto ano del nascimento del nuestro salbador Jesuchristo de mill e quinientos e dos anos. Testigos que fueron presentes llamados e rogados al otorgamiento de esta dicha carta de testamento: Garcia de Guzman escrivano publico, e Fernando Ortis e Juan de Valladolid e Christoval Martin rico vecino de esta dicha cibdad. Va escripto entre renglones o diz= de lienzo=o diz=yo=o diz=dicha=e va escripto sobre raido o diz=trecientos fanegas de trigo o diz=O=vala e non empesca= Pedro Cano escrivano publico de la noble e leal cibdad de Ezija por el rey e por la reyna nuestros senores fui presente al otorgamiento de esta carta de testamento con los dichos testigos e por ende fiz aqui este mio signo. Esta Carta de testamento suso escripto que fizo e otorgo la dicha senora dona Elvira de Herrera yo el dicho escrivano publico di a Bartholome Rodrigues Amarillo, mayordomo del abadesa e monjas del monesterio de Santa Ynes del Valle desta cibdad de Ecija por mandamiento del bachiller Lorenzo Albarer de Toledo, alcalde maior desta dicha cibdad por el virtuoso senor

senor lizenciado Rodrigo Romero pesquisidor e juez de residencia de la dicha cibdad por el rey e por la reyna nuestros senores=Pedro Cano escrivano publico.

APPENDIX 5

CONVENTO DE LA CORONADA

EN LA VILLA DE AGUILAR

A.D.M., sección Priego, Legajo 110, Doc. 20. (A Seventeenth-Century account of the endowment and conditions relating to this covent, 1566).

La senora dona Theresa Enriquez, hija delos senores Don Pedro Fernandez de Cordova, y de dona Elvira Henriquez, Marqueses de Priego, haviendo sacado Bula del Papa Julio y licencia del Obispo de Cordova, y consentimiento de la senora dona Cathalina Fernandez de Priego, Marquesa y Patrona delas iglesias dela Villa de Aguilar, y del Rector y Capellanes, y concejo de dicha Villa, fundo un Monasterio de monjas del orden de santa Clara en dicha Villa en la Yglesia y hermita de nuestra senora dela Coronada, y en el sitio, que estaba junto a ella, el qual hauia comprado por justos titulos, y lindaba el dicho monasterio con la dicha yglesia y con tres calles publicas, y con Casas de dicha Funadora, y con Casas de Garcia Rodrigues; el qual Monasterio quedo sugetto al Obispo de Cordova, y fue condicion, quando lo fundo de que pudiese meter en el dies monjas sin dote, y quesi algunas de ellas faltasen, pudiese meter en su lugar hasta cuatro doncellas monjas en su vida, y cuya fundacion fue por

el ano de 1566, trayendo ocho monjas del Convento de la Encarnacion de la Ciudad de Granada.

Doto a este Monasterio, y hizo donacion irrevocable delos Bienes siguientes.

Las Casas principales, que hauia edificado para el dicho monasterio susomencionadas.

Quatro hazas de tierra en el Cortijo de mezquitel.

Quatro fanegas de tierra que decian las intrometidas, y alindaban con tierras del senor marques de Priego del Cortijo de Rabanera.

Cinco hazadas de tierra en el Cortijo delas Canteras linde con el Aldea don Gil. Diez cayces de pan terciado cada ano sobre el Cortijo de huechar que era del senor marques de Priego. Las nueve hazas de Valderrama, linde con tierras de Baena que rentaban cada ano 598 fanegas de trigo, y 201 fanegas y 8 celemines de cebada.

Un censo de 30,000 mrs de principal, contra Juan de Luque impuesto sobre una haza de 30 fanegas de tierra, y por ellos pagaba cada ano 2,143 mrs.

Otro censo contra Francisco Lopez de Lama, y Maria Albanez su muger de 20,000 mrs de principal, y 1,430 mrs de renta sobre 6 fanegas de tierra en la parte dela Alcantarilla. Otro de 34,000 mrs y de 2,429 mrs y medio contra Francisco de Seuilla sobre un Cortijo, y tierras en termino de Aguilar.

Otro de 20,000 mrs de principal, 1,430 de renta contra Bartholome Sanchez, y otros sobre unas Casas en Aguilar, y sobre una Vina en las Atalayas, y sobre otras Casas, y sobre una haza de tierra enlas salinas.

Otro de 20,000 mrs de principal, y 1,430 de renta contra Matheo Sanchez sobre una haza de tierra de 25 fanegas en la parte de Jogina, y sobre unas Casas en Aguilar.

Otro de 20,000 mrs de principal y 1,430 de renta contra Andres Garcia sobre una haza de 12 fanegas en el pozo dela Vereda.

Otro de 26,000 mrs del principal, y 1,857 de renta contra Miguel Sanchez de Varo, y Maria Sanchez su muger, sobre quatro aranzadas de vina en dos pedazos en la parte delas Atalayas.

Otro de 26,000 mrs de principal, y 715 mrs de renta contra

Anton Martin sobre unas Casas en la calle dela fuente y sobre otros bienes rayces.

Otro de 18,000 mrs de principal, y 1,286 de renta contra Pedro Martin Maestre, y Cathalina Gomez su muger, y Diego maestre su hijo sobre tres Aranzadas de Vina en el Canaveralejo.

Otro de 15,000 mrs de principal, y 1,071 mrs de renta, y medio contra Christoval Ximemez Cantarero, y Maria Sanchez su muger, sobre 13 fanegas de tierra en Jojina.

Otro de 17,000 mrs de principal, y 1,143 mrs de renta contra Fernan Ruiz Boticario, y Leonor de Seuilla, sobre ciertas vinas, y heredades.

Otro de 15,000 mrs de principal, y 1,701 mrs de renta contra Francisco Rodriguez, y Ana Jorge su muger sobre unas Casas delos muros adentro.

Otro de 15,000 mrs de principal, y 1,071 mrs de renta contra Marcos Lopez Curtidor y Anton Ximenez escrivano y Garcia Martin delas Higueras, sobre tres pares de Casas.

Otro delo mismo con la dicha renta contra Juan Ruiz escrivano y Leonor de Seuilla su muger, y Diego de Aguilar

Mayordomo sobre 600 pies de olibos en las Canadas.

Otro censo de 20,000 mrs de principal, y 1,430 mrs de renta contra Christoval de Aguilar sobre unas Casas en Aguilar, y una haza de tierra en Mazgallin.

Otro de 10,000 mrs de principal, 715 de renta contra Juan de Aguilar sobre un olibar, y una vina.

Otro de 16,500 mrs de principal, y 1,179 de renta contra Juan de Lucena Castillo sobre unas Casas en la calle de la pintada.

Otro de 15,000 mrs de principal, y 1,701 mrs de renta y medio contra Christoval Ximenez Cantarero, y Juana Fernandez sobre 9 fanegas de tierra en Jojina.

Otro de 16,000 mrs de principal, y 1,143 de renta contra Juan Ruiz Moreno, y Maria Alonso su muger sobre unas casas en Aguilera.

Otro de 13,000 mrs de principal, y 928 mrs, y medio de renta contra Anton de Castro sobre unas Casas en Aguilar.

Otro de 10,000 mrs de principal, y 715 mrs de renta, contra Matheo Ximenez el Recio, y Cathalina Ximenez su muger

sobre una huerta en vado Castro.

Otro de 10,000 mrs de principal, y 715 mrs de renta contra Alonso Martin Esteban, y Gonzalo Hinojoso sobre dos pares de Casas, y sobre otros bienes.

Otro del mismo principal, y renta contra Anton de Luque, y Ysavel Lopez sobre unas Casas en Aguilar, y dos aranzadas de vina en las atalayas.

Otro del mismo principal, y renta contra Fernan Ruiz Medellin, y Maria Ximenez su muger sobre unas Casas en Aguilar.

Otro de 12,000 mrs de principal, y 858 mrs de renta contra Yuste Perez, y Ysabel Lopez su muger sobre un pedazo de vina en la piedra el gallo.

Otro de 15,000 mrs de principal, y 1,071 mrs de renta contra Anton Garcia Penuela, y Cathalina Martin su muger sobre unas Casas en Aguilar.

Otro de 10,000 mrs de principal, y 715 mrs de renta contra Juan de Montilla, y Victoria Ximenez su muger sobre una haza de tierra de 7 fanegas en Rio frio.

Otro de 10,000 mrs de principal, y 715 mrs de renta contra Martin Sanchez Capote sobre unas Casas en el Cerrillo del moralejo, y sobre una haza de tierras en navalenga.

Otro de 11,250 mrs de principal, y 804 mrs de renta contra Alonso de Cordova sobre una haza en el arroyo delas Salinas.

Otro de 10,000 mrs de principal, y 715 de renta contra Pedro Ximenez de Gongora sobre una haza de tierra en la Carrijosa.

Otro de 10,000 mrs de principal, y 715 de renta contra Gil Gomez de Lagar, y Maria de Arjona su muger sobre unas Casas en la Calle del Pozuelo.

Otro de 100 ducados de principal, y 2,679 mrs de renta contra Juan Fernandez Capote, y Usabel Fernandez su muger sobre unas Casas en Aguilar, y 355 pies de Olibos en la Canada de San Christoval.

Otro del mismo principal, y renta de 10,000 mrs de principal, y 715 de renta contra Gonzalo Martin de Lucena y Diego Garcia Capote sobre una haza de 17 fanegas en los quejijares, y sobre otra haza en mingo lechin.

Otro del mismo principal, y renta contra Alonso Bonillo Albanil, y Ana Fernandez su muger sobre unas Casas en Aguilar.

Otro de 11,000 mrs de principal, y 786 mrs y medio de renta contra Miguel Ruiz Jurado, y Cathalina Ruiz su muger sobre unas casas en Aguilar.

Otro de 10,000 mrs de principal, y 715 de renta contra Matheo Sanchez el grueso sobre una haza de 20 fanegas en Mazgallin.

Otro de 14,500 mrs de principal, y 1,036 mrs de renta contra Pedro Gil sobre dos aranzadas de vina en la torre.

Otro censo de 10,000 mrs de principal, y 715 de renta contra Juan Martin de la Zapatera, y Maria Ximenez su muger, sobre unas casas en el moralejo.

Otro del mismo principal, y renta, contra Ana de Aguilar, y Cathalina Munoz sobre dos casas en Aguilar.

Otro de 7,000 mrs de principal, y 500 de renta contra Bartholome del Pino, y Juana Fernandez su muger sobre una aranzada de vina.

Otro de 7,125 mrs de principal, y 510 mrs de renta contra Anton Munoz de Cardona, y Mencia Fernandez su muger sobre unas Casas en la Calle dela fuente.

Otro de 10,000 mrs de principal, y 715 de renta contra Gil Gomez de Lagar, y Anton Rodrigues Marquez sobre unas Casas en Aguilar.

Otro de 5,000 mrs de principal, y trescientos, y cinquenta y siete mrs de renta contra Bartholome Sanchez y Elvira del Valle su muger sobre unas casas en Barrionuevo.

Otro del mismo principal, y renta contra Alonso Gomez sobre una aranzada de vina en la torre.

Otro del mismo principal, y renta contra Miguel Sanchez Herrero y Elvira Nunez su muger, y Juan Ruiz Penuela, y Theresa Garcia su muger sobre ciertos bienes.

Otro del mismo principal, y renta contra Fernan Lopez de Baeza, y Antonia Rodriguez su muger sobre unas casas en Aguilar.

Otro de 20,000 mrs de principal, y 1,428 mrs de renta contra Francisco Rodriguez, y Mencia Perez su muger sobre ciertos bienes rayces.

Otro de 5,000 mrs de principal, 357½ de renta contra Rodrigo de Cabra, y Juana Fernandez su muger y contra Alonso Fernandez del Rincon, y Cathalina Perez su muger sobre unas casas, y vinas.

Otro de 2,500 mrs de principal, y 128½ derenta contra Alonso Sanchez Pastor, sobre unas casas en Aguilar.

Todos estos censos montaron 712,365 mrs por 50,873 mrs de renta cada ano a 14,000 el 1,000. Tambien se obligo esta senora fundadora a pagar cada ano al dicho Monasterio 49,127 mrs de censo para siempre jamas al redimir y quitar por 687,625 mrs de principal, hasta tanto que dicha senora o sus herederos, diesen al Convento otra tanta renta, que con las partidas de censos antecedentes compredieron 100,000 mrs de renta de censo en dineros de quitar por 1,400,000 mrs, y las dichas 598 fanegas de trigo, y 201 fanegas y nueve celemines de cebada, que fue lo que hauia ofrecido dar al dicho monesterio.

Tambien dio muchas pinturas alajas, y ornamentos a dicho convento.

Tambien se obligo de dar casa en que viviese el Confesor, y 5,000 mrs cada ano y 10 fanegas de trigo con cargo de una misa rezada del santisimo sacramento el primero dia

de cada mes.

Tambien se obligo a dar 2,000 mrs cada ano para ayuda al salario del Sacristan, y estos 2,000 se obligo a pagarlos en tanto que no los diese en censos al redimir a 14,000 el 1,000.

Tambien se obligo a dar cada ano 20 arrobas de aceyte, y 12 de vino para el sustento de las monjas.

Tambien puso por hazienda 50 ducados que los senores Marqueses de Priego dieron en limosna a la Yglesia de la Coronada.

Y en virtud de la Bula, que Su Santidad la hauia concedido, aplico, y adjudico al dicho monasterio la dicha hermita de nuestra senora la Coronada para que junta con el, y con los censos y bienes los posea el dicho monasterio con los Cargos, y gravamenes segun los tenia la fabrica de la Yglesia de la senora Coronada, diciendo cada ano las memorias, y fiestas, que la dicha fabrica tenia por las personas, que antiguamente se hacian; y aplicando por bienes rayces de la dicha fabrica una hazade 29 fanegas de tierra de cuerda en la parte de la vereda de panchia termino de Aguilar, que rentaba 10 ducados cada ano.

Unas casas en Aguilar en la calle del moralejo con una casa puerta de 8 varas de largo, y tres de ancho, y otro cuerpo en linde de este, lo mismo de ancho desde arriba un patio, que tenia 8 varas de ancho, y 9 de largo, y un entresuelo que tenia nueve varas al largo, y quatro de ancho, y un trascorral de 9 varas de largo, y 10 de ancho, que rentaban 3 ducados cada ano.

Unas casas, que tenia a censo perpetuo Matheo Sanchez Cerrajero de 100 mrs cada ano. Otras casas en la Calle del Cerrillo del Moralejo de 93 mrs y medio de renta. Otras casas en el cerrillo que tenia Theresa Fernandez, y pagaba de censo cada ano 420 mrs y medio.

Otras casas que tenia Pedro Marques, y pagaba de censo perpetuo cada ano 4,000 mrs, y medio.

Otras casas, que tenia Juan de Lara Albanil en la calle del pozo la Matta, y pagaba de censo perpetuo cada ano tres reales.

Otras casas, que poseia la viuda de Juan Ruiz Chacon, y pagaba de censo perpetuo cada ano 80 mrs.

Otras casas, que tenia Bartholome Sanchez en el cerrillo, y pagaba de censo cada ano 40 mrs.

Otras, que tenia Lazaro Ximenez de Lucena en el cerrillo, y pagaba de censo cada ano 40 mrs.

Otras que tenia Alonso Esteban y pagaba de censo cada ano tres reales.

Otras, que tenia Alonso Esteban de Quintana en cuesta los silos, y pagaba de censo cada ano tres reales.

Un solar caydo en la calle del Cambroncillo.

Unas casas en el cerrillo, que tenia Miguel Ruiz de Carmona, y pagaba de censo cada ano 40 mrs.

Un majuelo en la senda el goloso, que tenia Pedro Monte, clerigo, y pagaba cada ano 6 reales de censo, el qual tenia fanega, y media de tierra, menos medio celemin.

Un olibar de 70 pies en Juan Parque rentaba 40 reales cada ano.

Una vina y olibar que rentaba 16 reales cada ano.

Una vina en el Pago de la Torre que rentaba siete reales cada ano.

Otra vina en la dehesa vieja que rentaba 18 reales cada ano.

Un olibar que rentaba 500 mrs cada ano.

Una vina en la Cerradilla que rentaba 8 reales cada ano.

Un olibar en la membrilla de 20 pies.

Una vina en la dehesa vieja, que rentaba cada ano 220 mrs.

Y aplico esta senora juntamente al dicho monasterio por bienes de la dicha hermita los dichos 50 ducados que los dichos senores marqueses hauian mandado dar.

De todo ello hizo donacion pura, y no revocable al dicho monasterio con estas condiciones.

Que durante la vida de dicha senora no pueda el convento recivir ninguna monja sin licencia del obispo de Cordova, y consentimiento de dicha senora.

Que no se reciva ninguna monja sin el dote de 500 ducados por lo menos.

Que no aya mas de 30 monjas.

Que aya de ser obligado el dicho convento a recivir la monja que dicha senora metiere con dote de 500 ducados.

Que dicha senora pueda estar en el dicho convento el tiempo que quisiere.

Que no traygan a este convento monja alguna de otro para penitencialla.

Que dicha senora ha de ser Patrona del por los dias de su vida, y despues de ella lo sea la persona que dejase nombrada; el qual Patrono ha de poder meter monja ninguna en el convento sin dote, ni con el, sin licencia del obispo.

Esta escriptua de dotacion referida la otorgo la dicha senora en Aguilar a dos de octubre del ano de 1566.

La Abadesa, y monjas de este convento aceptaron en este mismo mes, y ano con las referidas condiciones la dicha fundacion, y el obispo lo aprovo, y recivio debajo de su obediencia el dicho convento.

Y por el ano de 1568 el Nuncio de su Santidad dio su despacho al Ministro general del orden de san francisco para que tomase la jurisdicion de este convento mediante

no haverse visitado desde su fundacion, y apartarse el Ordinario de Cordova de este conocimiento.

En Montilla a 5 de enero de 1575 la dicha senora dona Theresa Enriquez hizo su testamento en que nombro por Patron de esta monasterio al senor don Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba Marquez de Priego su sobrino y a sus subcesores en la casa de Priego, y quiere que la Capilla mayor sea entierro de los senores de la casa de Aguilar.

En Montilla a 16 de Octubre del ano de 1570 la senora marquesa dona Cathalina Fernandez de Cordova, por si, y con poder del senor marques don Alonso Fernandez de Cordova su marido, otorgo una escriptura en que dijo, que por quanto ambos senores con facultad real hauian vendido al jurado Alonso de Zurita el Cortijo de Huechar, en el qual tenia cargado y situado la citada senora dona Theresa Enriquez 10 cahices de pan terciado cada ano que los hauia heredado del senor don Pedro Fernandez de Cordova su padre los quales los tenia cedidas a este convento y que por haver vendido libre el dicho cortijo del Prado de Azmaymon, cerca de Aguilar a fabor de dicha senora dona Theresa, y del dicho convento.

SELECT GLOSSARY

ADELANTADO:	Regional military governor.
AJUAR:	Bridal household utensils and equipment; 'bottom drawer'.
ALCABALA:	Royal tax on sales-transactions.
ALCAIDE:	Castellan.
ALCALDE:	Judge.
ALCALIFA:	Carpet.
ALGUACIL:	Municipal policeman.
ALJAMA:	A settlement or district of Jews or Moors.
ALUMBRADISMO:	Illuminism.
ALUMBRADO:	An 'illuminated' person.
ARANZADA:	Variable measure of land.
ARRABAL:	District or living quarter of a town.
ARRAS:	Token gift from the male to the female at marriage.
ARRENDADORES:	Tax-farmers.
ARROBA:	A variable weight or measure of liquid.
ARROBAMIENTO:	State of spiritual ecstasy; a spiritual trance.
ARROYO:	Stream.
AUDIENCIA:	The chief court of civil and criminal jurisdiction.
AYUNTAMIENTO:	Municipal government; town hall.
BARRIO:	District of a town.

BEATA: A free-lance nun.

BEATERIO: An informal religious community of nuns.

BETICA: Franciscan province in the Guadalquivir valley or region.

BLANCA: A billon coin.

BORCEGUINERO: Shoe-maker or shoe-seller of laced shoes.

CABALLERO: Knight.

CABILDO: Chapter of municipal or religious institution.

CAHIZ: A weight of twelve fanegas.

CAMBIADOR: Money-changer.

CARPINTERO: Carpenter.

CARTA DE HERMANDAD: Letter of brotherhood or sisterhood.

CASA: House.

CASA REAL: The royal household.

CASA SOLAR: Ancestral noble-lineage dwelling.

CASAS DE RECOGIMIENTO: Houses where Recogimiento was practised.

CASAS MESONES: Public Houses.

CENSATORIOS: Holders of Censos.

CENSOS: To avoid confusion, it is essential to distinguish between the different practical operations involving Censos.

The Censo was an emphyteutical payment - that is, once it was created the amount payable remained constant and, in theory at least, was payable 'for ever'. The

Censo was paid by whoever was working the land in question, or living in the house in question, and was paid to the 'owner' of the land or the house. Since an emphyteutical lease was involved, however, the tenant was in practice the quasi-owner. The tenant enjoyed the usufruct of the land or house, and he or she could freely sell the property or pass it on to his or her heirs - but whoever bought or inherited the property still had to pay the Censo to the 'owner'. In this sense, therefore, the Censo was similar to the feu-duties paid by Scottish houseowners until very recent times.

The very nature of the Censo encouraged active markets at different levels. Property, as we have seen, could be bought and sold with the Censo remaining constant, and with a succession of different 'tenants' paying the same Censo to the same 'owner'.

But it could also happen - and it happened frequently - that Censos themselves could be bought and sold. In other words, the tenancy of a property might remain in the

hands of the same tenant, but the 'owners' having sold the Censo to somebody else, the tenant might find that he or she was paying the Censo to a new 'owner'. Typically, a convent might decide to invest the capital sum provided by a nun's dowry into the purchase of a Censo - hence converting capital into secure, but constant, annual income.

There were, then, at least two markets - a market on which properties were bought and sold, and another market for the buying and selling of Censos.

But Censos could also come into existence as a result of a credit system whereby small landed and urban proprietors borrowed money, usually from nobles, obligarchs, or ecclesiastical institutions, in return for an annual Censo payment. Such Censo payments, therefore, were in effect interest payments on the sums borrowed, with the landed or urban properties of the borrowers being the securities underpinning the loans.

CIUDAD: City.

CLAUSULA: A clause or codicil.

COLLACION: District or area of a town.

COMENDADOR: Holder of an Encomienda.

COMUNERO: Participant in the rebellion of the Comunidades of 1520.

CONCEJO: Council (royal or urban).

CONSEJERO: Councillor.

CONTADOR MAYOR: Head official of the royal finances.

CONVERSO: Converted Jew; New Christian; Christian with Jewish ancestors.

CORRAL: Yard.

CORREGIDOR: Royal official appointed to intervene and control a town's affairs.

CORTES: 'Parliament'; assembly of the three estates.

CORTIJO: An Andalusian farm.

CRIADO: Servant.

CRUZADA: 'Crusading' bull of indulgence.

CURADOR: A person legally representing the interests of someone under-age.

DEHESA: Pasture lands.

DEJADOS: Those practising Dejamiento.

DEJAMIENTO: A state of spiritual 'abandonment' to God.

DESCALZOS: Discalced friars/nuns.

DEVOTO: Follower; devotee.

DISCRETA: Nun-councillor to abbess and Vicaria.

DONCELLA: A young lady.

DUCADO: Ducat (gold coin).

DURANGUESADO: Area in Basque Provinces round Durango; heresy associated with this area.

EMPAREDADAS: Walled-up anchoresses.

ENCOMIENDA: Lordship in the lands of one of the military orders.

ESCRIBANO (PUBLICO) Scribe (public notary).

ESCUDERO: Squire.

FANEGA: A weight of grain, salt ...

FISICO: Physician; doctor.

HACIENDA: Financial and landed belongings.

HEREDADES: Landed properties.

HIDALGO/ HIDALGA: Male or female of noble birth.

HORNO: Oven.

HUERTA: Orchard; irrigated area.

INFANTE/ INFANTA: Prince or Princess of the royal blood.

JOYERO: Jeweller.

JURADO: Representative of a parish district.

JURO: A bond providing annual income, either on a long-term or permanent basis, assigned on royal revenues.

LEGAJO: Bundle of documents.

LEGITIMA: The rightful and legal share of parents' inheritance.

MADRE MINISTRA: Female head of a Beaterio or tertiary house.

MAESTRA: Female religious instructor.

MAESTRE ESCUELA: Teacher.

MAGISTRA: See Madre Ministra.

MAJUELO: Land with recently planted vineyards.

MARAVEDI: The Castilian money of account.

MAYORAZGO: An entailed estate.

MAYORDOMO: Financial official in charge of 'household' economy and finance.

MEDICO: Doctor.

MERCADER: Merchant.

MERCED: Royal privilege or gift.

MESA CAPITULAR: Corporate financial estate of a religious organisation or chapter.

MESONERO: Inn-keeper: landlord.

MOZA: Young girl or woman; maid.

PAN TERCIADO: Payments of grain made up of two-thirds of wheat and one-third of barley.

PARIENTE MAYOR: The head or 'Godfather' of a lineage.

PARTIDO: A tax-collecting or tax-farming district or region.

PATRONAZGO: Religious Patronage.

PECHERO: Tax-payer.

PEDRERO: Stone-cutter.

PERFECTOS: 'Perfect' individuals; those reaching the highest stage of Illuminism.

PESQUISA: Judicial inquiry or examination.

PLEITO HOMENAJE: Performance of fealty; solemn promise.

PORTERA: Nun-door-keeper, controlling entry and exit to a convent.

PRINCIPAL: Capital endowment.

PROCURADOR/ PROCURADORA: Person legally representing someone else's interests.

REAL: Full-bodied silver coin of that name.

RECOGIDOS: Those practising Recogimiento.

RECOGIMIENTO: Spiritual retreat or in-gathering within the self; an interiorised and spiritualised religious state or practice.

REGIDOR: Urban oligarchical office-holder; 'alderman'.

REPARTIMIENTO: Repartition.

RETABLO: Retable.

SACRISTANA: Nun in charge of the sacristy.

SANTIDAD: Saintliness.

SEDA: Silk.

SENORIO: Lordship.

SENTENCIA: Judgement; sentence.

SOLTERA: Spinster.

SUPREMA: Supreme Council of the Inquisition.

TEXEDOR: Weaver; cloth-maker.

TINTORERO: Dyer.

TITULO: Title; titled nobility (Dukes, Marquises etc); family whose head holds such a title.

TONDIDOR: Cloth-shearer.

TRANSPONIMIENTO: State of spiritual transformation, rapture, or ecstasy.

TRIBUTO: Tax.

VAYNERO: Scabbard-maker.

VECINO: Head of a household.

VENTA: Roadside inn.

VICARIA: Second-in-command in a Franciscan female convent.

VICARIO: Vicar-General; Confessor to nuns.

VILLA: Town.

ZAPATERA: Female shoemaker.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

A) ARCHIVES AND LIBRARIES

Archivo de los Duques de Medinaceli, Seville.

Sección de Priego

Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

Secciones de Clero and Inquisición

Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

Sección de Manuscritos

Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, Brussels.

The British Library, London.

Note. I was unable to obtain permission to work in the Archivo de los Duques de Medinaceli, and I am grateful to my supervisor, Professor MacKay, for obtaining microfilms and photographs of the necessary documents on my behalf.

I am also grateful to the staff of the Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique for supplying me with a microfilm of Alonso de Espina's, La Forteresse de la Foy

B) PUBLISHED DOCUMENTS AND CONTEMPORARY WRITINGS

Note. Many of the books and articles listed under SECONDARY WORKS also contain a great deal of published documentation.

Alcocer, Pedro de Hystoria o descripción de la imperial cibdad de Toledo (Toledo, 1554).

Alcocer, Pedro de Relación de algunas cosas que pasaron en estos reinos desde que murió la reina católica Doña Isabel, hasta que se acabaron las comunidades en la ciudad de Toledo (Modern edition by the Sociedad de Bibliófilos Andaluces: Seville, 1872).

Angela of Foligno, The Book of Divine Consolations of the Blessed Angela of Foligno (London, New York, 1909).

Annales Minorum, 32 vols., ed. L Wadding et al (Quaracchi and Rome, 1931-64).

Anonymous, Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Santiago por un franciscano Anónimo del siglo XVIII, ed. M de Castro (Madrid, 1971).

Anonymous, Cosas notables de la ciudad de Cordoba (¿1618-?) (Montilla, 1982).

Beltrán de Heredia, V, Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca, 6 vols. (Salamanca, 1970-2).

Bullarium Franciscanum:- Vol. V (1303-17), ed. C Eubel (Rome, 1898). Vol. VI (1335-78), ed. C Eubel (Rome, 1902). Vol. VII (1378-1431), ed. C Eubel (Rome, 1904). Addition Supplemento (c. 1218-1302), ed. C Eubel (Quaracchi, 1908). N(ova) S.(eries), Vol. I (1431-55), ed. Fr Ulricus Huntemann (Quaracchi, 1929). N.S., Vol. II (1455-71), ed. Fr I M Pou y Martí (Quaracchi, 1949). N.S., Vol. III (1471-84), ed. Fr I M Pou y Martí (Quaracchi, 1949).

Carrete Parrondo, C, Movimiento Alumbrado y Renacimiento

Español: Proceso inquisitorial contra Luis de Beteta (Madrid, 1980).

Carrete Parrondo, C, Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae (Salamanca, 1981).

Cartagena, Alonso de, Defensorium Unitatis Christianae, ed. M Alonso (Madrid, 1943).

Castro, J de, Primera parte de el arbol cronólogico de la provincia de Santiago, in Crónicas franciscanas de España, ed. O Gómez Parente, I (Madrid, 1976).

Catherine of Siena, St, Obra de las epistolas y oraciones de la bienaventurada virgen Sancta Catherina de Sena de la orden de predicadores (Alcalá, 1512).

Colmenares, D de, Historia de la insigne ciudad de Segovia, 3 vols. (Segovia, 1921-2; New edition: Segovia, 1974-84).

Colón, Fernando, Descripción y cosmografía de España, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1908-17).

Daza, A, Historia, vida, y Milagros, extasis, y Revelaciones de la bienaventurada virgen Santa Juana de la Cruz (Zaragoza, 1611).

De La Torre, A and E A, Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza, Tesorero de Isabel la Católica 2 vols. (Madrid, 1955-6).

Espina, Alonso de, Fortalitium Fidei (Nuremberg, 1489).

Espina, Alonso de, La Forteresse de la Foy (Lyon, 1511).

Gutiérrez de Torres, Alvar, El sumario de las maravillosas y espantables cosas que en el mundo han acontescido (Madrid, 1952).

Hamilton, A, Proceso de Rodrigo de Bivar (1539) (Madrid, 1979).

Imirizaldu, J, Monjas y Beatas Embaucadores (Madrid, 1977).

Letts, M, ed. The Travels of Leo of Rozmital, 1465-1467 (Hakluyt Society: Cambridge, 1957).

Maluenda, Luis de, Tratado llamado excelencias de la fe (Burgos, 1537).

Martire de Anghiera, Pietro, Epistolario, ed. J López de Toro, in CODOIN (Madrid, 1957), vols. X and XI.

Memorias de don Enrique IV de Castilla, vol. II, Colección diplomática, published by the Real Academia de la Historia (Madrid, 1835-1913) (Note: vol. I was never published).

Moles, J B, Memorial de la provincia de San Gabriel, vol XXV (Madrid, 1984).

Morgado, A de, Historia de Sevilla (Seville, 1587).

Ortega, P Manuel, Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Cartagena, vol. XIII (Madrid, 1980).

Ortega Costa, M, Proceso de la Inquisición contra María de Cazalla (Madrid, 1975).

Ortiz de Zúñiga, D, Anales eclesiásticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de Sevilla (Madrid, 1679).

Osuna, Fr Francisco de, Primer abecedario espiritual (Burgos, 1537).

Osuna, Fr Francisco de, Gracioso combite (Burgos, 1537).

Osuna, Fr Francisco de, Tercer abecedario espiritual (Burgos, 1544) and modern edition by M Andrés Martín (Madrid, 1972).

Osuna, Fr Francisco de, Norte de los estados (Burgos, 1550).

Palencia, Alonso de, Crónica de Enrique IV, trans. and ed. A Paz y Melia, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1973-5).

Pisa, Francisco de, Descripción de la imperial ciudad de Toledo, e historia de sus antiguedades, y grandeza y cosas memorables que en ella han acontecido (Toledo, 1605).

Prieto Cantero, A, Archivo General de Simancas: Casas y descargos de los Reyes Católicos (Valladolid, 1969).

Quintanilla, Fr Pedro de, Archetypo de virtudes ... Fr Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros (Palermo, 1653).

Rodríguez-Puertolas, J, Poesía crítica y satírica del siglo XV (Madrid, 1981).

Rojas, Fernando de, La Celestina, ed. Dorothy S Severin (Madrid, 1969).

Salazar, P de, Crónica de la provincia de Castilla, in Crónicas franciscanas de España, ed. O Gómez Parente, vol. I (Madrid, 1977).

Siguenza, J de, Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo, 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Madrid, 1907-9).

Torres, A de, Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Granada, vol. VII (Madrid, 1984).

Valera, Mosen Diego de, Crónica de los Reyes Católicos, ed. J de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1927

Valera, Mosen Diego de, Memorial de diversas Hazañas, ed. J de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1941).

Zúñiga, Francesillo de, Crónica Burlesca del emperador Carlos V, ed. Diane Pamp de Avalle-Arce (Barcelona, 1981).

C) SECONDARY WORKS

Abad Pérez, A, 'San Juan de la Penitencia. Obra social del Cardenal Cisneros en Toledo', Anales Toledanos, II (1968), pp 1-88.

Abad Pérez, A, 'Nuevos documentos en torno a San Juan de la Penitencia de Toledo', A.I.A., 36 (1976), pp 119-23.

Amador de los Rios, J, Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1875-6) and new edition in 1 vol. (Madrid, 1960).

Andrés Martín, M, Los recogidos. Nueva visión de la mística española (1500-1700) (Madrid, 1975).

Andrés Martín, M, La teología española en el siglo XVI, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1976-7).

Andrés Martín, M, 'Los alumbrados de Toledo en el Cuarto Abecedario Espiritual, o Ley de Amor, de Francisco de Osuna (1530)', A.I.A., 41 (1981), pp 459-80.

Avalle Arce, J, 'Los herejes de Durango', in Homenaje a Rodríguez-Moñino, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1966), I, pp 39-55.

Azcona, T de, Isabel la Católica (Madrid, 1961).

Baer, Y, A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1961).

Baron, S W, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, 18 vols. (London, New York, Philadelphia, 1952-83).

Bataillon, M, Erasmo y España (México, 1966).

Beceiro Pita, I, 'La biblioteca del conde de Benavente a mediados del siglo XV y su relación con las

mentalidades y usos nobiliarios de la época', En la España Medieval, II (1982), pp 135-45.

Beinart, H, La Inquisición española. Antecedentes y comienzos (Buenos Aires, 1976).

Beinart, H, Conversos on Trial. The Inquisition in Ciudad Real (Jerusalem, 1981).

Beltrán de Heredia, V, Historia de la reforma de la provincia de España, 1450-1550 (Rome, 1939).

Beltrán de Heredia, V, Los corrientes de espiritualidad entre los dominicos de Castilla durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI (Rome, 1939).

Beltrán de Heredia, V, 'Las bulas de Nicolas V acerca de los conversos de Castilla', Sefarad, 21 (1961), pp 22-47.

Bennassar, B, Valladolid au siècle d'or. Une ville de Castille et sa campagne au XVI^{e} siècle (Paris, 1967).

Bennassar, B, L'Inquisition Espagnole (Paris, 1979).

Bennassar, B, 'En Vieille-Castille: Les ventes de rentes perpétuelles. Première moitié du XVI^{e} siècle', Annales E.S.C., 15 (1960), pp 1115-1126.

Benito Ruano, E, Toledo en el siglo XV (Madrid, 1961).

Benito Ruano, E, 'El memorial contra los conversos del bachiller Marcos García de Mora, "Marquillos de Mazarambroz"', Sefarad, 17 (1957), pp 314-51.

Bernal, A M; A Collantes de Terán; A García-Baquero, 'Sevilla: De los gremios a la industrialización', Estudios de Historia Social, nos. 5-6 (1978), pp 7-307.

Brooke, R B, Early Franciscan Government (Cambridge, 1959).

Cabanelas, D, 'Un franciscano heterodoxo en la Granada nasrí: Fray Alonso de Mella', Al-Andalus, 15 (1950), pp 233-50.

Cabrera Muñoz, E, 'Tierras realengas y tierras de senorío en Córdoba a fines de la Edad Media. Distribución geográfica y niveles de población', Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Medieval (Córdoba, 1978), I, pp 295-308.

Cabrera Muñoz, E, 'El régimen señorial en Andalucía', Actas del I Coloquio de Andalucía. Andalucía Medieval (Córdoba, 1982), pp 57-72.

Cantera Burgos, F and P León Tello, Judaizantes del arzobispado de Toledo habilitados por la Inquisición entre 1495 y 1497 (Madrid, 1969).

Cantera Burgos, F, 'Fernando de Pulgar y los conversos', Sefarad, 4 (1944), pp 295-348.

Caro Baroja, J, Vidas mágicas e Inquisición, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1967)

Carriazo, J de Mata, 'Precursores españoles de la Reforma. Los herejes de Durango (1442-5)', in Actas y Memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropología, Etnografía y Prehistoria (Madrid, 1925), pp 35-69.

Castro, M de, El real monasterio de Santa Clara y los Enríquez, almirantes de Castilla (Palencia, 1982).

Castro, M de, 'Legislación inmaculista de la orden franciscana en España', A.I.A., XV (1955), pp 35-103.

Castro, M de, 'Juan de Argumanes, O.F.M. (1458-1535). Sus relaciones con los descalzos y sus escritos', A.I.A., 32 (1972), pp 327-70.

Castro, M de, 'El convento de Santa Clara de Toledo, según documentos de los siglos XIV y XV', B.R.A.H., 174 (1977), pp 495-528.

Castro y Castro, M de, 'El franciscano fray Luis de Maluenda. Un alguacil alguacilado de la Inquisición', in La Inquisición española: Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes, ed. J Pérez Villanueva (Madrid, 1980), pp 797-813.

Chaunu, P, L'Espagne de Charles Quint, 2 vols. (Paris, 1973).

Christian, W A, Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain (Princeton, 1981).

Christian, W A, Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain (Princeton, 1981).

Clark, S, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', Past and Present, no. 87 (1980), pp 98-127.

Clendinnen, I, 'Disciplining the Indians: Franciscan Ideology and Missionary Violence in Sixteenth-Century Yucatan', Past and Present, no. 94 (1982), pp 27-48.

Cohen, J, The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism (Ithaca, London, 1982).

Davis, N Z, Society and Culture in Early Modern France (London, 1975)

Dedieu, J P, 'Christianisation en Nouvelle Castille: Catéchisme, communion, messe et confirmation dans

l'archevêché de Tolède, 1540-1650', MCV, 15 (1979), pp 261-94.

Deyermond, A, A Literary History of Spain: The Middle Ages (London, New York, 1971).

Diccionario de Historia de España, ed. G Bleiberg, 3 vols. (Madrid, 2nd edition, 1968).

Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España, ed. Q Aldea Vaquero et al, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1972-5).

Edwards, J, 'La revolte du Marquis de Priego a Cordoue en 1508. Un symptôme des tensions d'une société urbaine', MCV, XII (1976), pp 165-72.

Edwards, J, 'Mission and Inquisition among conversos and moriscos in Spain, 1250-1550', Studies in Church History, XXI (1984), pp 139-51.

Encyclopedia Judaica, ed. C Roth and G Wigoder, 16 vols. (Jerusalem, 1971-2).

Escribano Castilla, A, 'Fundaciones franciscanas en la Córdoba bajomedieval', Actas del I Coloquio de Historia de Andalucía. Andalucía Medieval (Córdoba, 1982), pp 331-51.

Esposito, M, 'Une secte d'hérétiques à Medina del Campo en 1459, d'après le Fortalitium Fidei d'Alphonse de Espina', Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 32 (1936), pp 350-60.

Esposito, M, 'Notes sur le Fortalitium Fidei d'Alphonse de Spina', Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 43 (1948), pp 514-36.

Eubel, C, et al, Hierarchia Catholica, 8 vols. (Monasterii Patavii, 1913-78).

Fita, F, 'Los tres procesos de San Ignacio de Loyola en Alcalá de Henares: Estudio Crítico', B.R.A.H., XXXIII (1898), pp 422-61, 512-36.

Fortea Perez, J I, Córdoba en el siglo XVI: Las bases demográficas y económicas de una expansión urbana (Salamanca, 1979).

Freed, J B, The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, Mass., 1977).

Fremaux-Crouzet, A, 'Franciscanisme des villes et franciscanisme des champs dans l'Espagne du Bas Moyen Age', in Les Espagnes médiévales: Aspects économiques et sociaux. Mélanges offerts à Jean Gautier-Dalché (Nice, 1983), pp 53-65.

García Oro, J, Cisneros y la reforma del clero español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos (Madrid, 1971).

García Oro, J, 'La documentación franciscana española. Notas para una archivística y diplomática franciscana', A.I.A., 42 (1982), pp 7-74.

Gerbet, M C, La noblesse dans le royaume de Castille. Etude sur ses structures sociales en Estrémadure de 1454 à 1516 (Paris, 1979).

Gómez-Menor, J, Cristianos nuevos y mercaderes de Toledo (Toledo, 1970).

Goñi-Gaztambide, J, 'Los herejes de Durango. Nuevas aportaciones (1442)', Hispania Sacra, XXVIII (1975), pp 225-38.

González, T, Censo de población de las provincias de la Corona de Castilla en el siglo XVI (Madrid, 1829).

González Jiménez, M, Carmona en la Baja Edad Media (Seville, 1973).

Guérreau, A, 'Rentes des ordres mendiants a Mâcon au XIV siècle', Annales E.S.C., XXV (1970), pp 956-65.

Gutiérrez, E, Beata Beatriz de Silva y los orígenes de la orden de la inmaculada concepción (Valladolid, 1967).

Gutiérrez, E, 'La orden de las concepcionistas en su primera fuente histórica', A.I.A., 29 (1969), pp 381-99.

Highfield, J R L, 'The Catholic Kings and the Titled Nobility of Castile', in Europe in the Later Middle Ages, ed. J R Hale, J R L Highfield and B Smalley (London, 1965), pp 358-85.

Hillgarth, J N, The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978).

Hodcroft, F W, et al, eds., Medieval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in Honour of P E Russell (Oxford, 1981).

Huerga, A, Predicadores, alumbrados, e Inquisición en el siglo XVI (Madrid, 1973).

Huerga, A, 'El proceso inquisitorial de "La monja de Lisboa" y Fray Luis de Granada', Hispania Sacra, 12 (1959), pp 333-56.

Hufton, O, 'Women in History: Early Modern Europe', Past and Present, no. 101 (1983), pp 125-41.

Kamen, H, Spain, 1469-1714. A Society of Conflict (London, New York, 1983).

Kamen, H, Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1985).

Klapische-Zuber, C, 'La "mère cruelle": Maternité, veuvage et dot dans la Florence des XIV-XV siècles', Annales E.S.C., 38 (1983), pp 1092-1109.

Ladero Quesada, M A, 'De Per Afán de Ribera a Catalina de Ribera. Siglo y medio en la historia de un linaje sevillano (1371-1514)', En la España Medieval, IV (part I) (1984), pp 447-94.

Lagarde, G, 'Les sources de l'histoire des ordres mendiants conservées aux archives nationales', Annales E.S.C., XXV (1970), pp 947-53

Lambert, M D, Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210-1323 (London, 1961).

Lambert, M D, Medieval Heresy. Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus (London, 1977).

Larner, C, Enemies of God: The Witch-Hunt in Scotland (Oxford, 1981).

Layno Serrano, F, Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendozas en los siglos XV y XVI, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1942).

Layna Serrano, F, Los conventos antiguos de Guadalajara (Madrid, 1943).

Leff, G, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages, 2 vols. (Manchester, 1967).

Le Goff, J, 'Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: L'implantation des ordres mendiants', Annales E.S.C., XXIII (1968), pp 335-52.

Le Goff, J, 'Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale', Annales E.S.C., XXV (1970), pp 924-46.

Lejarza, F de, 'Orígenes de la descalcez franciscana', A.I.A., 22 (1962), pp 15-131.

León Tello, P, Judíos de Toledo, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1979).

Lerner, R E, The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1972).

Little, L K, Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe (London, 1978).

Llorca, B, La Inquisición española y los alumbrados (1509-1669) (Salamanca, 1980).

Longhurst, J E, 'La beata Isabel de la Cruz ante la Inquisición', Cuadernos de Historia de España, XXV-XXVI (1957), pp 279-303.

López, A, 'El franciscanismo en España durante los pontificados de Calixto III, Pio II, y Paolo III', A.I.A., 3 (1943), pp 490-570.

Lunas Almeida, J, Historia del señorío de Valdecorneja en la parte referente a Piedrahita (Avila 1930).

MacKay, A, 'Popular Movements and Pogroms in Fifteenth-Century Castile', Past and Present, no. 55 (1972), pp 33-67.

MacKay, A, 'Averroistas y marginadas', Actas del III Coloquio de historia medieval andaluza. La sociedad

medieval andaluza: Grupos no privilegiados (Jaén, 1984), pp 247-61.

MacKay, A, and G McKendrick, 'The Crowd in Theater and the Crowd in History: Fuenteovejuna', Renaissance Drama, New Series XVII (1986), pp 125-47.

Maclean, I, The Renaissance Notion of Woman (Cambridge, 1980).

Maravall, J A, 'La Utopia político-religiosa de los franciscanos en Nueva España', Estudios Americanos', I (1948-9), pp 199-227.

Márquez, A, Los alumbrados: Orígenes y filosofía (1525-59) (Madrid, 1980).

Martz, L, Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain (Cambridge, 1982).

Martz, L, and J Porres, Toledo y los toledanos en 1561 (Toledo, 1974).

McDonnell, E W, The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture (New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1954).

Meseguer Fernández, J, Los franciscanos en el sureste de España (Murcia, 1961).

Meseguer Fernández, J, 'Devoción de las clarisas de Calabazanos a la Asunción de la Santíssima Virgen. Un privilegio papal (25 de Octubre de 1463)', A.I.A., 8 (1948), pp 129-37.

Meseguer Fernandez, J, 'Franciscanismo de Isabel la Católica', A.I.A., 19 (1959), pp 153-95.

Meseguer Fernandez, J, 'El programa de gobierno del P Francisco de Quiñones, O.F.M.', A.I.A., XXI (1961), pp 5-51.

Meseguer Fernández, J, 'Primeras constituciones de las franciscanas concepcionistas', A.I.A., 25 (1965), pp 361-89.

Meseguer Fernández, J, 'Isabel la Católica y las franciscanas (1451-76)', A.I.A., 30 (1970), pp 265-310.

Meseguer Fernández, J, 'La concepción de Olmedo. Documentos para su historia', A.I.A., 31 (1971), pp 173-211.

Meseguer Fernández, J, 'Documentos históricos diversos', A.I.A., 31 (1971), pp 535-63.

Michel Ange, F, 'Le vie franciscaine en Espagne entre les deux couronnements de Charles Quint ou le premier commissaire général des provinces franciscaines des indes occidentales', RABM, XXVI (1912), pp 157-214, 345-404; XXVIII (1913), pp 167-225; XXIX (1913), pp 1-63, 157-216.

Milhou, A, Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español (Valladolid, 1983).

Molinié-Bertrand, A, 'Le clergé dans le royaume de Castille à la fin du XVI^{e} siècle', Revue d'histoire économique et sociale, 51 (1973), pp 5-53.

Moorman, J, A History of the Franciscan Order: From its Origins to the year 1517 (New York, 1968).

Moorman, J, Medieval Franciscan Houses (New York, 1983).

Munk, S, Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe (Paris, 1857-9).

Muñoz Roca-Tallada, C, 'Testamentos de doña Marina de Ayala y don Fadrique Enríquez, II Almirante de Castilla', B.R.A.H., 123 (1948), pp 561-85.

Nader, H, The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350-1550 (New Jersey, 1979).

Netanyahu, B, 'Alonso de Espina: Was he a New Christian?' Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, 43 (1976), pp 107-65.

Neuman, A, The Jews in Spain. Their Social, Political and Cultural Life during the Middle Ages (Philadelphia, 1944)

New Catholic Encyclopedia, prepared by an editorial staff at the Catholic University of America, Washington, 15 vols. (New York, 1967).

Nieto, J, 'The Franciscan alumbrados and the Prophetic-Apocalyptic Tradition', The Sixteenth Century Journal, VIII, 3 (1977), pp 3-15.

Nieto, J, 'The Heretical alumbrados dexados: Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz', Revue de Littérature Comparée, 2-4 (1978), pp 293-313.

Nimmo, D, 'Reform at the Council of Constance: The Franciscan Case', Studies in Church History, 14 (1977), pp 159-73.

Omaechevarría, I, Escritos de Santa Clara (Madrid, 1970).

Omaechevarría, I, Las clarisas a través de los siglos (Madrid, 1972).

Omaechevarría, I, Las monjas concepcionistas (Burgos, 1973).

Omaechevarría, I, Orígenes de la concepción de Toledo (Burgos, 1976).

Omaechevarría, I, Comentarios a la regla de la orden de la inmaculada concepción (Burgos, 1977).

Omaechevarria, I, 'Fr Francisco de Quiñones, autor de la relación mas antigua acerca de la concepción franciscana de Toledo', A.I.A., 33 (1973), pp 61-75.

Pazos, M R, 'Provinciales Compostelanos (siglos XVI-XIX)', A.I.A., 25 (1965), pp 391-450.

Pérez, J, La révolution des 'Comunidades' de Castille (1520-1) (Bordeaux, 1970).

Pérez, J, 'Moines frondeurs et sermons subversifs en Castille pendant le premier séjour de Charles-Quint en Espagne', Bulletin Hispanique, 67 (1965), pp 5-24.

Pérez-Embid Wamba, J, 'Don Alvaro de Luna, los monjes y los campesinos: Un conflicto en la Castilla bajomedieval', En la España Medieval, III (1982), pp 231-45.

Pérez Villanueva, J, ed., La Inquisición Española: Nueva visión, nuevas horizontes (Madrid, 1980).

Perry, M E, 'Deviant Insiders: Legalized Prostitutes and a Consciousness of Women in Early Modern Seville', Comparative Studies in Society and History, 27 (1985), pp 138-58.

Phelan, J L, The Millenial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World, 2nd edition (Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1970).

Porres Martín-Cleto, J, La desamortización del siglo XIX en Toledo, 2 vols. (Toledo, 1965).

Porres Martín-Cleto, J, 'Toledo y sus calles (Notas para un callejero toledano)', Anales Toledanos, I (1967), pp 73-147.

Pou y Martí, J, Visionarios, Beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (Vich, 1930).

Quintanilla Raso, M C, Nobleza y senorío en el reino de Córdoba: La casa de Aguilar (siglos XIV y XV) (Cordoba, 1979).

Quintanilla Raso, M C, 'La biblioteca del marqués de Priego (1518)', En la España Medieval, I (1980), pp 347-83.

Quintanilla Raso, M C, 'Estructuras sociales y familiares y papel político de la nobleza cordobesa (siglos XIV y XV)', En la España Medieval, III (1982), pp 331-52.

Redondo, A, 'Luther et l'Espagne de 1520 à 1536', MCV, I (1965), pp 109-65.

Reinhardt, K and H Santiago-Otero, Biblioteca bíblica ibérica medieval (Madrid, 1986).

Rodríguez Molina, J, El reino de Jaén en la Baja Edad Media (Granada, 1978).

Rodríguez-Puertolas, J, Fr Iñigo de Mendoza y sus 'Coplas de Vita Christi' (Madrid, 1968).

Rodríguez-Puertolas, J, De la edad media a la edad conflictiva (Madrid, 1972).

Ros, Fidèle de, Un maître de Sainte Thérèse. Le père

François d'Osuna. Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine spirituelle (Paris, 1936).

Rosenthal, J, The Purchase of Paradise. Gift-Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485 (London, Toronto, 1972).

Rosenwein, B H and L K Little, 'Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities', Past and Present, 63 (1974), pp 4-32.

Round, N, The Greatest Man Uncrowned. A Study of the Fall of Don Alvaro de Luna (London, 1986).

Ruether, R R, ed., Religion and Sexism: Images of Woman in the Jewish and Christian Traditions (New York, 1974).

Ruiz Martín, F, 'La población española al comienzo de los tiempos modernos', Cuadernos de historia de España, I (1967), pp 189-202.

Salomon, N, La campagne de Nouvelle Castille à la fin du XVI siècle d'après les 'Relaciones Topográficas (Paris, 1964).

Sainz Rodríguez, P, La siembra mística del Cardenal Cisneros y las reformas en la iglesia (Madrid, 1979).

Sánchez Herrero, J, 'Monjes y frailes. Religiosos y religiosas en Andalucía durante la Baja Edad Media', Actas del III Coloquio de historia medieval andaluza: Grupos no privilegiados (Jaén, 1984), pp 405-56.

Scribner, R, 'Cosmic Order and Daily Life: Sacred and Secular in Pre-Industrial German Society', in Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, ed. K von Greyerz (London, 1985).

Selke, A, El santo oficio de la Inquisición. Proceso de Fr Francisco Ortiz (Madrid, 1968).

Selke, A, 'Algunos datos sobre los primeros alumbrados. El edicto de 1525 y su relación con el proceso de Alcaraz', Bulletin Hispanique, 54 (1952), pp 125-52.

Selke, A, 'Vida y muerte de Juan López de Celaín, alumbrado viscaino', Bulletin Hispanique, 62 (1960), pp 136-62.

Serrano y Sanz, M, 'Juan de Vergara y la Inquisición de Toledo', RABM, V (1901), pp 896-912; VI (1902), pp 29-42, 466-86.

Serrano y Sanz, M, 'Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz iluminado alcarreño del siglo XVI', RABM, VIII (1903), pp 1-16, 126-39.

Sicroff, A A, Les controverses des statuts de 'pureté de sang' en Espagne du XV^{e} au XVII^{e} siècle (Paris, 1960).

The Jewish Encyclopedia, ed. I Singer, 12 vols. (New York, 1901-6).

Trachtenberg, J, The Devil and the Jews (Newhaven, 1945).

Trexler, R, 'Le célibat à la fin du moyen âge: Les religieuses de Florence', Annales E.S.C., XXVII (1972), pp 1329-50.

Turner, V W, The Ritual Process. Structure and Anti-Structure (London, 1949).

Turner, V, The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (Ithaca, London, 1967).

Uribe, A, 'Espiritualidad de la descalcez franciscana', A.I.A., 22 (1962), pp 133-61.

Uribe, A, and F de Lejarza, 'Introducción a los orígenes de la Observancia en España. Las reformas en los siglos XIV y XV', A.I.A. (Madrid, 1957), 1009 pp.

Vauchez, A, La sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Age (Rome, 1981).

Veitia, E A and R de Echezarreta, Noticias históricas de Tavira de Durango (Durango, 1868).

Velasco, B, 'Fundación del convento de tercerías franciscanas de Santa Isabel de Cuéllar', A.I.A., 31 (1971), pp 475-83.

Villavaso, C de, Historia de Durango (Durango, 1888).

Viñas y Mey y Paz, C, Relaciones de los pueblos de España. Reino de Toledo 3 vols. (Madrid, 1951-63).

Warner, M, Alone of All her Sex. The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary (London, 1976).

CHAPTER I

FOOTNOTES

1. On the general history and development of the Franciscan Order, see J. Moorman, A History of the Franciscan Order: From its Origins to the Year 1517 (New York, 1968).
2. See B. H. Rosenwein and L. K. Little, 'Social Meaning in the Monastic and Mendicant Spiritualities', Past and Present, no. 63 (May 1974), pp 4-32.
3. See L. K. Little, Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe (London, 1978); J. Le Goff, 'Apostolat mendiant et fait urbain dans la France médiévale: L'implantation des ordres mendiants', Annales E. S. C., XXIII (1968), pp 335-52; J. Le Goff, 'Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale', Annales E. S. C., XXV (1970), pp 942-46.
4. Rosenwein and Little, art.cit., p 31.
5. Le Goff, 'Apostolat Mendiant', p 337.
6. Le Goff, 'Ordres Mendiants', pp 941-3.
7. See Moorman, op.cit., parts III and IV.
8. Ibid., pp 15-19, 55-8.
9. For this and a list of Franciscan houses for the period up to 1517, see J. Moorman, Medieval Franciscan Houses (New York, 1983).
10. Moorman, A History, pp 17-19.
11. Ibid., pp 16-18.
12 Rosenwein and Little, art. cit., p 27.

13. For this and what follows, see Moorman, A History, pp 188-204, 441-56, 479-500.
14. See M. D. Lambert, Franciscan Poverty: The Doctrine of the Absolute Poverty of Christ and the Apostles in the Franciscan Order, 1210-1323 (London, 1961), pp 141-83.
15. Ibid., pp 208-46.
16. On the Regular Observance movement, see Moorman, A History..., pp 369-89, 441-56.
17. On the Villacrecian reform movement, see A. Uribe and F. de Lejarza, 'Introducción a los orígenes de la Observancia en España. Las reformas en los siglos XIV y XV', A.I.A. 65-80 (1957); on the descalzos, see F. de Lejarza, 'Orígenes de la descalcez franciscana', A.I.A., 22 (1962), pp 15-131; A. Uribe, 'Espiritualidad de la descalcez franciscana', A.I.A., no. 22 (1962), pp 133-61.
18. Uribe and Lejarza, art.cit., pp 299-334.
19. Ibid., pp 329-30.
20. Ibid., pp 386-9. For a recent study of noble patronage of Villacrecian houses, see A Fremaux-Crouzet, 'Franciscanisme des villes et Franciscanisme des champs dans l'Espagne du bas moyen âge', in Les Espagnes médiévales: Aspects économiques et sociaux. Mélanges offerts à Jean Gautier-Dalché (Nice, 1983), pp 53-65
21. Details of the regime followed in Villacrecian houses can be found in the rules and constitutions drawn up by Fr. Pedro de Villacreces and Fr. Lope de Salazar y

Salinas which have been published in Uribe and Lejarza, art.cit.: these are Memoriale Religionis o breve memorial de los oficios activos y contemplativos de la Religión de los frailes menores, pp 687-713; Memorial de la vida y ritos de la custodia de Santa María de los Menores, pp 747-74.

22. See Uribe and Lejarza, art.cit., Segundas Satisfacciones, pp 861-7. The quotation is taken from p 863.

23. These works are listed in ibid., p 865.

24. M. Andrés Martín, La teología española en el siglo XVI, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1976-77).

25. See Fremaux-Crouzet, art.cit., pp 55-6.

26. Ibid., p 59.

27. On the life and work of Fr. Pedro de Santoyo, see Uribe and Lejarza, art.cit., pp 335-71.

28. Fr. Lope's rebuttal of the charges made against him in 1456, known as the Primeras Satisfacciones, are contained in ibid., pp 775-851.

29. Ibid., p 784: 'E Fray Pedro de Santoyo duró por esto plures anos que non quiso ayuntarse con ellos (los Observantes), nin ser so su visitacion fasta que vinieron a su gobierno e sujecion; estonce, con el favor de los senores Adelantado Pero Manrique, e Arzobispo don Gutierre, e el Almirante, e Conde de Benavente el viejo, tomo los conventos; empero nunca presumio de sojuzgar a las casas e frailes del dicho nuestro Padre Fray Pedro de Villacreces, salvo que

les aconsejo que aflojasen el modo de la estrechura corporal en que nuestro Padre los habia dejado...'

30. A López, 'El Franciscanismo en España durante los pontificados de Calixto III, Pio II y Paulo III', A.I.A., 3 (1943), pp 490-570.

31. See D. Nimmo, 'Reform at the Council of Constance: The Franciscan Case', in D Baker (ed), Studies in Church History, 14 (1977), pp 159-73.

32. These mystical and illuminist movements are discussed below, ch.2.

33. On the reform movement in the Franciscan province of Santiago, see Uribe and Lejarza, art.cit., pp 65-87; in the province of Cstile, ibid., pp 119-73.

34. Andrés Martín, op.cit., I, p 92.

35. Moorman, op.cit., A History... p 452.

36. See in general, J. García Oro, Cisneros y la reforma del clero español en tiempo de los Reyes Católicos (Madrid, 1971).

37. On the Observant Franciscans in the late fifteenth century, see in general, T. de Azcona, Isabel la Católica (Madrid, 1961), ch. 10.

38. J. García Oro, op.cit, pp 171-237.

39. On Cisneros' work as Visitor-General, see ibid., pp 171-201.

40. The nature of this patronage is discussed below pp. 38ff AND Ch. 5.

41. Andrés Martín, op.cit., I, pp 403-4.

42. Ibid., pp 102-3.

43. See below, pp. 21ff.

44. See Le Goff, 'Ordres Mendiants', pp 941-3.

45. For example in some areas of New Castile, where benefices were difficult to fill, friars were sent out to preach in the surrounding countryside. See P. de Salazar, Crónica de la Provincia de Castilla in Crónicas Franciscanas de España, vol. VI, ed. by O. Gómez Parente (Madrid, 1977). The following descriptions of the friaries in La Cabrera and Escamilla illustrate this point;

'Despues con los tiempos, se fue engrandando algo y acrecentando el numero de los religiosos, por razon de que muchos lugares de la comarca deste Conuento son muy pobres, tanto que ay en alguna parte vna hermita, donde acuden tres pueblos a oyr Missa; y muchos Curas los dias de fiesta dizen Misa en dos y en tres pueblos, porque los beneficios son tan tenues, que no se puede mas. Y ansi ha sido comunmente muy necessitado de ministros Predicadores, por donde vinieron desde aquellos tiempos a tener mucho numero de Predicadores en aquel Conuento, para que acudiessen a estas necessidades...' (La Cabrera);

'Es Conuento que habitan en el veynte frayles, los quales se ocupan en confessar, y predicar en toda aquella tierra, que por ser serrania, y algo esteril, carece de ministros suficientes para lo sobredicho' (Escamilla).

46. The main sources used here to reconstruct the geography of Castilian Franciscanism are M. de Castro, (ed.), Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Santiago por un franciscano anónimo del siglo XVIII (Madrid, 1971); J. de Castro, Primera parte de el árbol cronológico de la provincia de Santiago in Crónicas franciscanas de España, ed. by O. Gómez Parente, vol. I (Madrid, 1976); Salazar, op.cit.; P. Manuel Ortega, Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Cartagena, vol. XIII (Madrid, 1980); A. de Torres, Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Granada, vol. VII (Madrid, 1984); J Bautista Moles, Memorial de la provincia de San Gabriel, vol. XXV (Madrid, 1984). Lists of new foundations can be found in Annales Minorum, 32 vols., ed. L Wadding et al (Quaracchi and Rome, 1931-64). Finally Moorman's Medieval Franciscan Houses lists friaries which were founded prior to 1517.

47. Wadding, op.cit., vol. XV, pp 407-8, 413-4, 417-8. There are some inaccuracies in his 1506 register as he listed some houses which were not founded until after 1506; his account of Quiñones' 1523-4 visitation is contained in vol. XVI.

48. See A Molinié-Bertrand, 'Le clergé dans le royaume de Castille à la fin du XVI^{e} siècle', Revue d'histoire économique et sociale, 51 (1973), pp 5-53 (p 31). The author also provides a map showing the location of these friaries.

49. In 1506 the kingdom of Castile was divided into the custodies of Toledo, Burgos, Murcia, Los Angeles, and El Abrojo, and into the provinces of Santiago, Santoyo, and 'Betica'/Granada. The following provinces were erected during the rest of the sixteenth century: Los Angeles (1517); San Miguel (1543); Cantabria (1552); Concepción (1518); Granada (1583); and Cartagena (1520).

50. These partidos are listed by Molinié-Bertrand, art.cit., p 7, note 8.

51. The names and foundation dates of these friaries can be found in Appendix I.

52. These were Santiago (1214); La Coruña (1214); Ribadeo (1214); Avilés (1214); Oviedo (1214); Villafranca de Bierzo (1214); Cangas de Tineo (1216); Lugo (1214).

53. Details of these can be found in Castro, Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Santiago, pp 166-7 (Cabeza de Alba), 167-8 (Benavides), 169-70 (Villalón), 173-4 (Alba de Tormes), 202-3 (Monforte), 204-5 (Noya), 206-7 (Alcañices).

54. The pilgrimage of St Francis of Assisi to Santiago and the influence of another prominent Franciscan saint, St Anthony of Padua, may account for the early popularity of the Franciscan Order in this part of Castile. See in general, Castro, Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Santiago, pp 4-6: 'Por divina revelacion el divino retrato del Hijo de Dios,

nuestro serafico padre san Francisco... comenzo a fundar el convento de su orden, que hoy llaman de San Francisco, junto a los muros de la ciudad de Santiago...'.

55. See F. Ruiz Martín, 'La población española al comienzo de les tiempos modernos', Cuadernos de Historia I (1967), pp 189-202.

56. These figures are taken from T. González, Censo de población de las provincias y partidos de la Corona de Castilla en el siglo XVI (Madrid, 1829), pp 34-5, 43.

57. The density of population figures based on 1530 evidence has been very kindly supplied to me by Professor A. I. K. MacKay.

58. Molinié-Bertrand, art.cit., pp 19, 22-3.

59. On the Galician nobility, see J. R. L. Highfield 'The Catholic Kings and the Titled Nobility of Castile', in J. R. Hale, J. R. L. Highfield, and B. Smalley, Europe in the Later Middle Ages (London, 1965) pp 358-85, 361-3.

60. Castro, Crónica de la provincia franciscana de Santiago, pp 173-4 (Alba de Tormes), 169-70 (Villalón), 167-8 (Benavides).

61. These were Herrera del Pisuerga (1460); Fresneda (2) (1427 and 1451); Briviesca (1424); San Esteban de los Olmos (1456); Elveinte (1448); Linares (1443); San Esteban de Gormaz (1450); San Luis de Gormaz (1490); Poza (1452); La Aguilera (1404); Aranda

(1489); Santa Gadea (1499); Navarrete (1451).

62. These particular friaries contained the largest number of inmates in 1591 in this part of Old Castile. See Molinié-Bertrand, art.cit., p 31.

63. See above, n. 57.

64. Fremaux-Crouzet, art.cit. p 59, lists these titulo foundations.

65. On the convent of Santa Clara in Palencia, see M.de Castro, El real monasterio de Santa Clara y los Enríquez, Almirantes de Castilla (Palencia, 1982).

66. Female convents will be discussed below, ch. 4.

67. Fremaux-Crouzet makes this observation, art.cit., p60: '... la puissance de ceux que l'on devait appeler à partir de 1441 les Grands de Castille s'appuyait, comme le montre l'étude de leur généalogie, sur la pratique du mariage endogamique qui resserait la communauté d'intérêts.'

68. Ibid, p 60.

69. For example, the Pacheco, Enríquez and Manrique clans continued to finance female Franciscan houses in the sixteenth century. See below, ch. 5

70. M.C. Gerbet, La noblesse dans le royaume de Castile. Etudes sur ses structures sociales en Estrémadure de 1454 à 1516 (Paris, 1979), pp 383-4.

71. See Fremaux-Crouzet, art.cit., p 59.

72. For the distribution of friaries in this area of New Castile, see W.A.Christian, Jnr., Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain (Princeton, 1981), pp 15-19.

73. These figures are taken from González, op.cit., pp. 71 (Toledo), 72 (Ciudad Real), 74 (Ocaña), 73 (Talavera).

74. See Appendix I, parts ii and iii. The following chronological pattern emerged in this area of New Castile: thirteenth century - one foundation; fourteenth century - two foundations; fifteenth century - fourteen foundations; sixteenth century (to 1570) - eight foundations.

75. These details of noble patrons of the Franciscan Order are taken from Salazar, op.cit., pp 222-92.

76. On Mendoza patronage in Guadalajara, see F. Layna Serrano, Los conventos antiguos de Guadalajara (Madrid, 1943), pp 127-56. On their patronage outside Guadalajara, see Salazar, op.cit., pp 285-6 (Mondejar), 241-4 (La Cabrera), 232-41 (La Salceda), 292 (Colmenar).

77. Ibid., pp 244-9 (Ocaña), 261-8 (Lominchar).

78. Ibid., pp 250-4 (Castañar), This patronazgo was confirmed in 1534 at the provincial chapter held in Escalona: see A.H.N., sección Clero (Pergaminos), Carpeta 2943, doc. 7.

79. Ibid., pp 268-9 (Pinto), 254-8 (Talavera), 274-6 (Tordelaguna).

80. Salazar, ibid., p 250 has left the following description of the Franciscan hermitage of El Castañar: 'Ay en los montes de Toledo seys leguas de la misma ciudad entre mucha aspereza y soledad, vn monasterio de frayles de nuestro padre san Francisco... Tiene

veynte frayles moradores de ordinario, y... han sido siempre los frayles tan ocupados en encerramiento y exercicios espirituales de meditacion y contemplacion ...'.

81. Information on the location of these extramuro friaries has been derived from Salazar, op.cit., pp 232-41 (La Salceda), 241-4 (La Cabrera), 244-9 (Ocaña), 250-4 (Castañar), 259-61 (Pastrana), 261-8 (La Oliva), 269-73 (Torrijos), 274-6 (Tordelaguna), 281-5 (Escalona), 285-6 (Mondejar), 286-8 (Cifuentes), 288-9 (Escamilla), 289-91 (Medinaceli).

82. The Alcala figures are taken from González, op.cit., p 73; the rest are taken from Descripción y cosmografía de España por Fernando Colón, 3 vols., (Madrid, 1908-17), I, pp 170 (Oropesa), 9 (Mondejar), 149 (Talavera).

83. On the descalzo movement in Extremadura, see Lejarza, 'Orígenes de la descalcez...', art.cit., and Uribe, 'Espiritualidad de la descalcez...', art.cit.

84. Fr. Juan de la Puebla was the son of Alvaro de Sotomayor and Elvira Manrique de Zúñiga, Counts of Belalcazar. See M. de Castro, El real monasterio de Santa Clara de Palencia.

85. For a discussion of the separist policies of the descalzos see Lejarza, art.cit., pp 36-131.

86. González, op.cit., p 82 (Badajoz). For population density, see M. C, Quintanilla Raso, Nobleza y senorío en el reino de Córdoba. La casa de Aguilar (siglos

XIV y XV) (Córdoba, 1979), p 226. The population density of the lordships of the Counts of Belalcazar was 5.2 inhabitants per km^2, whereas in the lands of the Count of Feria it was 17.4 inhabitants per km^2.

87. See E. Cabrera Muñoz, 'El régimen señorial en Andalucía', in Actas del I Coloquio de Historia de Andalucía: Andalucía Medieval (Córdoba, 1982), pp 57-72 (p 62).

88. See Moles, op.cit.; for example, the friaries of Los Angeles (fol. 99r); Hoyos, (fol. 101v); and Nuestra Señora de la Luz, Alconchel (fol. 108v) were all situated a certain distance from the nearest town.

89. See Appendix I-i for the foundation dates of the friaries in Extramadura.

90. Moles, op.cit., fols. 99^r-108^v.

91. The population figures for Cuenca and Murcia are taken from González, op.cit., p 75; for population density, see above, in 57.

92. See Appendix I, parts ii and iii.

93. See J. Meseguer Fernández, Los franciscanos en el sureste de España (Murcia, 1961), p 8.

94. Highfield, art.cit., pp 370-5.

95. Cabrera Muñoz, art.cit., p 60.

96. Highfield, art.cit., pp 373-7.

97. Cabrera Muñoz, art.cit., p 61.

98. Ibid., p 62.

99. See A. Miguel Bernal, A Collantes de Terán, and A García-Baquero, 'Sevilla: de los gremios a la

industrialización', Estudios de Historia Social, nos. 5-6, (1978), pp 7-307.

100. The population figures for the Andalusian towns cited have been taken from the following sources: E. Cabrera Muñoz, 'Tierras realengas y tierras de señorío en Córdoba a fines de la Edad Media. Distribución geográfica y niveles de población, in Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía: Andalucía Medieval (Córdoba, 1978), vol. I, pp 295-308 (pp 298 and 299); Bernal et al, art.cit., p 284; J. Rodríguez Molina, El reino de Jaén en la Baja Edad Media (Granada, 1978), p 136; M. González Jiménez, Carmona en la baja edad media (Seville, 1973) pp 46-7.

101. See J. I. Fortea Pérez, Córdoba en el siglo XVI: las bases demográficas y económicas de una expansión urbana (Salamanca, 1979), pp 16-21; Quintanilla Raso, op.cit., pp 225-6.

102. For what follows see J. Sánchez Herrero, 'Monjes y frailes. Religiosos y religiosas en Andalucía durante la baja edad media', in Actas del III Coloquio de Historia Medieval Andaluza: Grupos no Privilegiados, ed. by M. González Jiménez and J. Rodríguez Molina (Jaén, 1984), pp 405-56.

103. Ibid., p 420. The Seville extramuro friaries were Nuestra Señora del Valle and San Juan de Aznalfarache, pp 426-7; the Córdoba ones were San Francisco del Monte and San Francisco de Arruzafa.

104. See A. de Torres, op.cit., p 133.

105. On the chronology of monastic and mendicant settlement in Andalusia, see Sánchez Herrero, art.cit., pp 414-18; figures for the Franciscan Order are given on p 417.

106. Ibid., pp 420-1 for Córdoba religious houses; pp. 426-8 for Seville.

107. Ibid., p 418: 'Por los testamentos sevillanos de la segunda mitad del siglo XV sabemos que el convento de San Francisco de Sevilla es el más solicitado como enterramiento, que se prefiere el hábito de San Francisco como mortaja a todos los demás'.

108. Reformed Franciscan friaries began to appear in Andalusia in the fifteenth century but not in such large numbers as in Old and New Castile.

109. On the connections between Columbus and the Franciscans, see A. Milhou, Colón y su mentalidad mesiánica en el ambiente franciscanista español (Valladolid, 1982).

110. The geographic area considered here extended from Córdoba in the north to Almería in the south, and Málaga in the west to Linares in the east. See Torres, op.cit., pp 5-7.

111. For this and what follows, see Torres, op.cit., pp 77-112.

112. Ibid., pp 82-5 (Loja), 89-97 (Guadix), 106-9 (Zubia), 110-12 (Alcaudete), 103-6 (Vélez), 18-26 (Granada).

113. For example, in Granada the following mendicant houses were established: Augustinians (1513);

Dominicans (1492); Jeronymites (1492-1514); Mercedarians (1492-1514); Minims (1518); Trinitarians (1517); in Baza, Dominican, Jeronymite and Mercedarian houses were founded. See Sánchez Herrero, art.cit., pp 435-7.

114. See Torres, op.cit., pp 112-6 (Andújar), 116-21 (Montilla), 121-4 (Priego), 124-7 (Bujalance), 128-30 (Alcalá la Real), 130-3 (Linares), 133-4 (Lucena), 135-41 (Archidona).

115. Highfield, art.cit., p 375.

116. Don Alonso Fernández de Córdoba and dona María de Velasco, Countess of Siruela, (Montemayor branch) founded the Alcaudete friary, see Torres, op.cit., pp 110-12; don Luis Fernández de Córdoba (Montemayor house) founded Lucena, ibid, pp 133-4; don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, first Marquis of Priego (Aguilar branch) founded Montilla, ibid., pp 116-21, and Priego, ibid., pp 121-4.

117. See Quintanilla Raso's excellent study of the House of Aguilar, op.cit. On the contribution of the Fernández de Córdoba noblewomen to the Franciscan Order, see below, ch. 4.

118. See Quintanilla Raso, op.cit., pp 126, 156-7, 212.

119. Ibid., pp 156, 212.

120. The Montilla friary was transferred to the Poor Clares in 1524, see below, ch. 5. A new friary was built for the Franciscans in Montilla, see Torres, op.cit., pp 117-8; apparently the Priego friary

was never completed, ibid., pp 121-4.

121. Population figures are taken from Fortea Pérez, op.cit., p16. Population density from Quintanilla Raso, op.cit., p 226.

122. Fortea Pérez, op.cit., pp 18-21.

123. See note 116 above.

124. Torres, op.cit., pp 85-9.

125. Ibid. The following houses were financed by the Catholic Monarchs: pp 77-82 (Málaga), 82-5 (Loja), 97-101 (Almería), 101-3 (Granada) (2), 18-26 (Alhambra), 103-6 (Vélez), 106-10 (Zubia), 89-97 (Guadix).

126. See Bataillon, op.cit., pp 53-6.

127. See J Meseguer Fernández, 'Documentos históricos diversos', A.I.A. 31 (1971), pp 535-63: 'Vi la carta del padre provincial y vuestra y la rrelacion que sobre ello el padre Anbrosio me hizo, y mucho vos agradezco la diligencia que mediante nuestro Senor, he tomado de passar en Africa en favor de nuestra santa fe y contra los infieles, enemigos della, y asy mismo rrecibo en seruicio los rreligiosos que dezis que teneys elegidos e aparejados de pedricadores (sic) e confesores bien suficientes ydoneos para que pasen conmigo... bastan por agora tres de los dichos pedricadores e otros tres confesores con sus conpaneros, que sean de los mas suficientes que teneys en esta vuestra provincia de Castilla...' (pp 553-4).

128. Sánchez Herrero, art.cit., p 418.

129. Ibid., p 419.

130. See P. León Tello, Judíos de Toledo 2 vols. (Madrid, 1979).

131. On mendicant antisemitism in Europe as a whole, see J. Cohen, The Friars and the Jews: The Evolution of Medieval Anti-Judaism (Ithaca, London, 1982). On Franciscan antisemitic propaganda in Castile, see below, ch. 3.

132. On the practical consequences of the imposition of an Observant regime, see Azcona, op.cit., pp 594; 611-9.

133. See I. Clendinnen, 'Disciplining the Indians. Franciscan ideology and Missionary Violence in Sixteenth-Century Yucatan', Past and Present, no. 94 (February 1982), pp 27-48, especially p 38.

134. On mendicant justification of mercantile wealth in medieval Italy see Rosenwein and Little, art.cit., p 31: 'The social achievement of the friars ... consisted in their confronting and eventually demystifying the taboo of monetary commercial transactions, starting by outright rejection, then by incorporating elements of commercial practice into their spirituality, and finally by helping to justify wordly commerce in a modified and carefully circumscribed form'. See also Fremaux-Crouzet, art.cit., pp 64-5.

135. To encourage the introduction of reform, the Catholic

Monarchs exempted the friars from certain taxes. See Azcona, op.cit., p 594.

136. Wadding, op.cit., vol. XV, p 587.

137. See Uribe and Lejarza, art.cit., pp 717-8, 753-3. The descalzos also used the poorest materials in the construction of their houses. See Uribe, art. cit., pp 148-9.

138. Salazar, op.cit., pp 139-45.

139. A full list of the incomes and ornaments donated to Torrijos is contained in Salazar, op.cit., pp 271-3. Fr. Francisco de los Angeles, the then Provincial Vicar of Castile, expressed misgivings to Teresa Enríquez about the friars living in such splendour and persuaded her to sell some of the ornaments and buy more basic essentials for the friary: 'Y trato con la senora dona Teresa ... que tomasse y recibiesse mucha plata, y oro, y tapicerias que al Conuento se auia dado; y ella lo tomo y recibio, y gasto en obras pias y santas'. (p 271).

140. Wadding, op.cit., vol. XV, pp 25-6.

141. See in general Andrés Martín, op.cit., I, pp 82-118.

142. See J. Meseguer Fernández, 'Primeras constituciones de las franciscanas concepcionistas', A.I.A., 25 (1965), pp 361-89. The old Franciscan friary was handed over to the nuns of the Immaculate Conception, and the reason given for the removal of the friars' library to San Juan de los Reyes was that women had

no need of books.

143. See A. and E. A. de la Torre, Cuentas de Gonzalo de Baeza tesorero de Isabel la Católica 2 vols. (Madrid, 1955-6), II, p 532.

144. See M. C. Quintanilla Raso, 'La biblioteca del marqués de Priego (1518)', in En la España Medieval, I (Madrid, 1980), pp 347-83. The figures are taken from p 352.

145. Salazar, op.cit., p 225 (Guadalajara); p 279 (Oropesa).

146. I Beceiro Pita, 'La biblioteca del conde de Benavente a mediados del siglo XV y su relación con las mentalidades y usos nobiliarios de la época', in En la Espana Medieval, II (Madrid, 1982), pp 135-46 (p. 142, note 20.).

147. A.D.M., sección Priego, legajo 2, document 6, fols. 10v-11e.

148. De La Torre, op.cit., vol. I, p 121; II, pp 169; 444-5; 485; 481; 582.

149. Wadding, vol. XVI, op.cit., p 60.

150. See M. R. Pazos, 'Provinciales Compostelanos (siglos XVI-XIX)', A.I.A. 25 (1965), pp 391-450 (p 394). The Manrique de Lara family financed the General Chapter of the Franciscan Order which was held in Burgos in 1523; see Wadding op.cit., vol. XVI, p 168. In 1470, the Admiral of Castile paid for the General Chapter held in Palenzuela; see J Meseguer Fernández, 'Isabel la Católica y los

Franciscanos (1451-1476)', A.I.A., 30 (1970), pp. 265-310 (p. 288).

151. On Letters of Confraternity, see the example quoted, pp. 45-6.

152. Meseguer Fernández, 'Isabel la Católica...', art. cit., p 304.

153. M. R. Pazos, art.cit., p 394. The original letter of confraternity had been issued to the Count in 1512 (p 396).

154. Torres, op.cit., pp 116-7. M. Castro pointed out that burial in a Franciscan habit was a sign of exceptional favour in his 'Juan de Argumanes, O.F.M. (1458?-1535?). Sus relaciones con los descalzos y sus escritos', A.I.A. 32 (1972), pp 327-70 (p 350).

155. See J. Rosenthal, The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485 (London, Toronto, 1972), pp 31-52.

156. See A.D.M., sección Priego, legajo 2, document 6, fols. 4r-v.

157. Ibid., fols. 4a- 5r.

158. A Prieto Cantero, Casa y descargos de los Reyes Católicos (Catalogue XXIV of the Archivo General de Simancas: Valladolid, 1969), pp 138, 161.

159. The Villacrecians were in general opposed to the custom of saying masses for the dead for private intentions, in return for payment. See Uribe and Lejarza, art.cit., p 717; 'Item, para alcanzar esta

pobreza de espiritu e de cuerpo, non usamos enterramientos, nin curamos de los provechos temporales dellos, nin de obsequias de defuntos particulares, nin de testamentos, nin de provisiones algunas de trigo, nin de vino en el agosto, nin en vindimias, nin de carnes, salvo de algunas pequenas reposiciones de nuestros trabajos, como son frutas, e hortalizas, e algunos quesos, para breve tiempo mendigados fasta Todos Santos e non para mas...'.

160. Ibid., pp 923-4.

161. See above, note 107.

162. The phrase 'purchase of paradise' comes of course from the work of the same name by J. Rosenthal. See above, note 155.

163. See M. A. Ladero, 'De Per Afán de Ribera a Catalina de Ribera: Siglo y medio en la historia de un linaje sevillano (1371-1514)', in En La España Medieval, IV (1984), pp 447-97 (p 486).

164. Fremaux-Crouzet, art.cit., pp 64-5.

165. Ibid., p 60.

166. Ibid., pp 64-5.

167. There is some evidence that the friars sometimes objected to the conditions imposed by the patron. For example, there was a dispute in 1477 with Pedro Manrique, the second Count of Paredes de Nava, who attempted to impose special conditions on the friary in Villaverde. See Manuel Ortega, op.cit., pp 110-12.

168. See J. Perez, 'Moines frondeurs et sermons subversifs en Castille pendant le premier séjour de Charles Quint en Espagne', B.H. 67 (1965), pp 5-24.

169. See Christian, op.cit., p 19.

170. See M. Ortega Costa, Proceso de la Inquisición contra María de Cazalla (Madrid, 1978), pp 108, 256; Proceso de Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraq, A.H.N., sección Inquisicion, Legajo 106, n.5, fol. 69r.

171. See Salazar, op.cit., pp 242, 288.

172. See G Bleiberg, ed., Diccionario de historia de España, 3 vols. (second edition, Madrid, 1968), S.V. 'Cisneros'.

173. Noble patronage of the Order of the Immaculate Conception is discussed below, chapter 5.

174. See, for example, Beceiro Pita, art.cit.; Quintanilla Raso, 'La biblioteca del marqués de Priego'. The will of doña Elvira de Herrera is a good illustration of the religious preferences of this particular noble-woman (see Appendix 4).

175. See Lejarza, art.cit., pp 16-22. Fr Juan de la Puebla was the son of Alvaro de Sotomayor and Elvira Manrique de Zúñiga, Counts of Belalcazar. He became a Jeronymite monk in Guadalupe in 1471; in 1480 Sixtus IV gave him permission to transfer to the Franciscan Order.

176. M. de Castro, El Real Monasterio de Santa Clara... op.cit., p 91.

CHAPTER 2: FOOTNOTES

1. On the geography and development of the Franciscan Order in Castile, see previous chapter.
2. On the influence of the towns on Franciscan spirituality, see B.H.Rosenwein and L.K.Little, art. cit.,passim; L.K. Little, Religious Poverty. On Franciscan spirituality in Castile during this period, see in general M.Andrés Martín, op.cit.
3. See Andrés Martín, op.cit.,I,pp.82-118.
4. Ibid, p.102; F.de Ros, Un maître de Sainte Thérèse. Le Père François d'Osuna. Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa doctrine spirituelle (Paris, 1936),pp.42-3.
5. See Andrés Martín, op.cit., I, pp.46, 98; F.Michel Ange, 'La vie franciscaine en Espagne entre les deux couronnements de Charles Quint ou le premier commissaire general des provinces franciscaines des indes occidentales' R.A.B.M. XXXVI (1912), pp.157-224, 345-404; XXVIII (1913), pp.167-225; XXIX (1913), pp.1-63, 157-216 (XXVI, p.193, n.2).
6. For this and other reforms proposed at the Burgos General Chapter, see J.Meseguer Fernández, 'El programma de gobierno del P.Francisco de Quiñones,OFM', A.I.A. XXI (1961), pp.5-51. At this same chapter meeting, Spanish Franciscans were forbidden to study at

the Franciscan college in Paris until Quiñones had inspected it: Andrés Martín, op.cit.,pp.97-98.

7. On this and what follows, see Andrés Martín,op.cit. I,pp.82-118
8. Ibid
9. Ibid.,pp.110-18
10. See in general, M.Warner, Alone of all her Sex: The Myth and Cult of the Virgin Mary (London, 1976): M.de Castro,'Legislación inmaculista de la orden franciscana en España', A.I.A.,XV (1955),pp. 35-103.
11. Castro, 'Legislación inmaculista'
12. I.Omaechevarría, Las monjas concepcionistas(Burgos, 1976). See also below, ch.5.
13. E.Gutiérrez ,Beata beatriz de Silva y los orígenes de la Orden de la inmaculada concepción,(Valladolid, 1967),p.279
14. See J.Rodríguez-Puértolas, Fray Iñigo de Mendoza y sus 'Coplas de Vita Christi' (Madrid, 1968, pp.281-4.
15. On Franciscan missionary activity, see J.L.Phelan, The Millenial Kingdom of the Franciscans in the New World (Berkeley,Los Angeles, 1970); I.Clendinnen, art.cit.; J.A.Maravall, 'La Utopia político-religiosa de los franciscanos en Nueva España,' Estudios Americanos 1,(1948-9),pp.199-227. On mendicant anti-semitism, see J.Cohen, op.cit.

16. See previous chapter, pp32 ff.
17. On the Oran episode, see Bataillon, op.cit.,pp.53-6.
18. Phelan, op.cit.,p.23
19. See J.Edwards, 'Mission and Inquisition among Conversos and Moriscos in Spain, 1250-1550', Studies in Church History, XXI (1984),pp.139-51. On the Jesuit mission in mid-sixteenth-century Granada, see N.Griffin, 'Un muro invisible: Moriscos and Cristianos viejos in Granada', in F.W.Hodcroft ed., Medieval and Renaissance Studies on Spain and Portugal in honour of P.E.Russell (Oxford, 1981), pp. 133-54.
20. See below, Ch.3.
21. See in general, H.Beinart. La Inquisición española. Antecedentes y comienzos (Buenos Aires, 1976).
22. On the Franciscan statute of limpieza de sangre, see A.Selke, El santo oficio de la Inquisición. Proceso de Fr.Francisco Ortiz (Madrid), 1968),p.64, n.40: A.A.Sicroff, Les controverses de statuts de 'pureté de sang' en Espagne du XVe au XVIIe siècle (Paris), 1960), p.90,n.100.
23. On Franciscan success in attracting noble patrons, see previous chapter.
24. This was alluded to by Fr.Alonso de Espina in his Fortalitium Fidei; see below, ch.3. On Dominican attacks on the cult of the Immaculate Conception, see above n.14.

25. See Andrés Martín, 'Los Alumbrados de Toledo en el Cuarto Abecedario Espiritual o Ley de Amor de Francisco de Osuna (1530)', A.I.A.,41 (1981), pp.459-80 (pp.463-4).

26. On the Duranguesado, see J.de Mata Carriazo,'Precursores españoles de la Reforma. Los herejes de Durango (1442-5)',in Actas y memorias de la Sociedad Española de Antropologia, Etnografía y Prehistoria (Madrid, 1925),pp.35-69; D.Cabanelas, ' Un franciscano heterodoxo en la Granada nasrí; Fray Alonso de Mella', Al-Andalus 15 (1950),pp.233-50; J.Avalle-Arce, 'Los Herejes de Durango', in Homenaje a Rodríguez-Moñino 2 vols.(Madrid,1966), I, pp.39-55: J.Goñi Gaztambide, 'Los herejes de Durango. Nuevas aportaciones (1442)', Hispania Sacra XXVIII(1975),pp225-38.

27. See M.D.Lambert, Franciscan Poverty; R.E.Lerner, The Heresy of the Free Spirit in the Later Middle Ages(Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1972): M.D.Lambert, Medieval Heresy, Popular Movements from Bogomil to Hus (London, 1977): G.Leff, Heresy in the Later Middle Ages 2 vols., (Manchester, 1967): J.Pou y Martí, Vionarios, beguinos y fraticelos Catalanes (Vich, 1930)

28. See in particular Goñi Gaztambide, art.cit.
29. See V.Beltrán de Heredia, ed., Cartulario de La Universidad de Salamanca, 6 vols. (Salamanca, 1970-2), I,pp.500-28.
30. See Goñi Gaztambide, art.cit. pp.225-7.
31. Ibid.,pp.231-2.
32. Ibid.,pp.232-3.
33. Ibid.,pp.234
34. On the female dimension to heretical movements, see Lerner, op.cit.,pp.229-30; Lambert, Medieval Heresy, pp. 174-6.
35. Mella's letter has been published by Cabanelas, art.cit.,pp.245-50, and Munqueta's letter by Goñi Gaztambide, art.cit.,pp.236-8.
36. Goñi Gaztambide, art.cit., p.236: '...et inter cetera nullum in orbe fore nec esse debere romanum pontificem seu papam, illamque venisse tempus gratie in quo omnes leges, omniaque jura et solemnitates cessaverant, et omnia fore communia....'
37. Cabanelas, art.cit.,pp.245-6: 'Ego autem, domine, videns quod persecutiones supradictorum non cessabant, umno dietim crescebant contra me, putavi dare locum ire sue et segregare me per aliquot tempus, sicuti fecit Ihesus Christus et nobis mandavit quod faceremos, dicens:'Si vos persequuntur in una civitate, fugite ad aliam'.

38. Ibid., p.250:'Item reperimos dictos sarracenos credentes et confitentes omnia sancta facta et dicta Ihesu Christi, quem, multo amplius quam christiani, in suis verbis et factis honorant, credentes de ipso quod secundum rationem potest et debet creditum esse. reperimos etiam eos dispositos audire et auscultare omne illud quod secundum rationem potest verificari; secundum quas rationes in eis repertas veraciter cognoscimos Deum non esse duntaxat Deum christianorum, sed esse Deum omnium illorum qui recte credunt in eum, et per digna opera adimplent mandata sua'.

39. This chronicle has been published in CODOIN,CVI (Madrid, 1893).

40. Ibid., pp.137-8

41. Ibid.,pp.137-7:'....e dexaron de se llamar como se llamavan, a los unos Sant Pedro e a los otros Sant Pablo, e nombres de otros santos e santas...'

42. Diego de Valera, Crónica de los Reyes Católicos, ed.J.de Mata Carriazo (Madrid, 1927). On this particular Averroistic phrase, see H.Beinart, Conversos Trial: The Inquisition in Ciudad Real (Jerusalem, 1981),p.297 n.47.

43. See also Mella's letter to John II, Cabanelas, art. cit.,p.249: 'Omnia que dicta sunt, sicut omnia alia in sanctis Scripturis contenta, illis tunc in

figura contingebant (I Cor.10,11) et fuerunt scripta ad correctionem nostram qui sumus in fine temporem illorum qui regnant, sed non ex Deo, volentium stauere suam iustitiam iustitie Dei non esses subiectam, quorum finis est interitus et perditio, qui cum suis funiculis modice firmitatis putant se posse detinere veritatem, Ihesum Christum, ut non exeat de sepulcro veteris Scripture, cooperto nova Scriptura, tertia die, qui est Spiritus Sancti, qui declarat nobis omnia que primo in proverbiis audieramos, et adducit nos de igne legalis servitutis hominum in perfecta libertate legis divine, quia iuxta Apostolum: " Ubi est spiritus Domini, ibi libertas" (II Cor.3.17)'.

44. Francesillo de Zúñiga, Crónica burlesca del emperador Carlos V, ed. by D.Pamp de Avalle-Arce (Barcelona, 1981).

45 Ibid., p.116.

46. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit.fol.377V.

47. On Amaury of Bene, see Lambert, Medieval Heresy p.102.

48. Ibid.,p.178

49. Ibid.,p.205.

50. C.de Villavaso, Historia de Durango (Durango,1888), p.65.

51. On beguinages, see E.W.Mc.Donnell, The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture.(New Brunswick, New Jersey, 1954).

52. See Villavaso, op.cit.; E.A.Veitia and R.Echezarreta, Noticias Históricas de Tavira de Durango Durango, 1868), p.165.

53. On this particular friar see A.Uribe and F.de Lejarza, pp.384-5;415;498; 785.

54. The Travels of Leo of Rozmital trans. and ed. by M.Letts (Cambridge:Hakluyt Society (1957),pp.75-6.

55. Ibid., p.76.

56. On alumbradismo, see A.Márquez, Los alumbrados: Orígenes y filosofía (1525-59) (Madrid, 1980); B. Llorca, La inquisición española y los alumbrados (1509-1669) (Salamanca, 1980); M.Ortega Costa op. cit.; J.M.Carrete Parrondo, Movimiento alumbrado y renacimiento español. Proceso inquisitorial contra Luis de Beteta (Madrid, 1980): A.Hamilton, Proceso de Rodrigo de Bivar (1539) (Madrid, 1979). The trial of Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz is still unpublished: AHN, seccion Inquisicion, Legajo 106, n.5. Parts of Alcaraz's and Isabel de la Cruz's trial have been published in the following periodicals:

M.Serrano y Sanz, 'Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz iluminado alcarreño del siglo XVI', R.A.B.M. V111, (1903), pp.1-16; 126-39; J.E.Longhurst, 'La beata Isabel de la Cruz ante la Inquisición', Cuadernos de Historia de España, XXV-XXVI (1957), pp.279-303.

57. On Villacrecian spirituality, see A.Uribe and F. de Lejarza, art.cit.

58. On the development of Franciscan spirituality in Castile, see M.Andrés Martín, Los recogidos; nueva visión de la mística española (1500-1700). (Madrid, 1976).

59. On Cisneros' role in promoting spirituality, see Bataillon, op.cit. pp.1-71; J.García Oro, op.cit.

60. Andrés Martín La teología española, I, pp.98-110.

61. On the practice of recogimiento, see F.de Ros, op cit., pp.428 ff. On the University of Alcalá, see Bataillon, op.cit. pp.10-51.

62. On the doctrinal confusion engendered by the term 'alumbrado', see Márquez,op.cit, pp.70-81.

63. For this and what follows, see Ibid, passim.

64. On the etymology of the word 'alumbrado, see Ibid., p. 69.

65. See Llorca, op.cit., pp.78-86.

66. The three illuminists burnt at the stake were Juan del Castillo,(1537), Juan López de Celaín (1530)

and Alonso Garzón. On Juan López de Celaín, see A.Selke, 'Vida y muerte de Juan López de Celaín', B.H., 62 (1960), pp.136-62. On Juan del Castillo, see Bataillon, op.cit., pp.188-9, 478-80.

67. On the persecution of Erasmians and 'Lutherans,' see Bataillon, op.cit., pp.475-90.

68. Selke op.cit. pp.280-1.

69. The Edict against alumbrados has been published by Márquez, op.cit., pp.229-38. See also A.Selke, 'Algunos datos sobre los primeros alumbrados. El Edicto de 1525 y su relación con el proceso de Alcaraz' B.H.,LIV (1952),pp.125-52.

70. Márquez, op.cit. 95-52.

71. LLorca, op.cit., pp.78-86; J.Nieto, ' The Heretical Alumbrados Dexados: Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz', Revue de litterature comparée, 2-4 (1978), pp.293-313: J.Nieto, 'The Franciscan Alumbrados and the Prophetic-Apocalyptic Tradition,' The Sixteenth Century Journal, V111, 3 (1977), pp.3-15.

72. For a discussion on these two methods of prayer, see Selke op.cit., pp.231-43: Bataillon, op.cit., pp. 166-76: Ortega Costa, op.cit. pp.21-2.

73 Márquez, op.cit., pp.156-7,233. The relevant propositions in the Edict against the alumbrados are nos.5,7,13,14,15,16,18,20 and 22.

74. See Márquez's discussion of this phase,op.cit. pp.184-6.

75. Ibid, p.231. See the evidence of Isabel de la Cruz in Longhurst, art.cit.p.286.

76. Márquez, op.cit.pp.185-6.

77. Longhurst, art.cit.,pp.289-90,293. This evidence, taken from the lost proceso of Isabel de la Cruz, is contained in Alcaraz's proceso, op.cit. fols 112r-118v. On the religious ideas of Isabel de la Cruz, see Nieto, art.cit, 'The Heretical Alumbrados'. pp.300-6.

78. For this and what follows, see in general, F.de Ros, op.cit.;Michel Ange, art.cit; M.Andrés Martín, 'Los alumbrados de Toledo'.

79. F.de Osuna, Tercer Abecedario Espiritual, ed. by M. Andrés Martín, (Madrid, 1972). Fr.Osuna was born in the Andalusian town of Osuna in c.1492, and was brought up in the household of Don Juan Téllez Girón, Count of Ureña. He was almost certainly educated at the university of Alcalá de Henares, subsequently becoming a franciscan friar in the Franciscan province of Castile. In the 1520s he was a friar in the recollects of La Salceda and Escalona, during which time he wrote the Tercer Abecedario Espiritual, which was dedicated to the Marquis of Villena. In 1528 he was appointed Commissioner General of the Franciscan province of the Indies, but there is no evidence of his having taken up residence there.

Between 1534-6 he was resident in Flanders, returning to Spain in 1537 where he spent his last remaining years.

80. F.de Ros, op.cit.pp.43-52.

81. As institutions, recollects date from 1502 when they were termed 'casas recolegidas'in the chapter constitutions. In 1523 they were called 'casas recoletas' and 'casas de recogimiento'. On this, see Andrés Martín, La teología española, I,p.403. On the foundation of La Salceda, see Uribe and Lejarza, art.cit., pp.119-274.

82. See Selke op.cit., pp.232,244-8.

83. On the origins of recogimiento, see F.de Ros, op.cit, passim.

84. See Michel Ange, art.cit.,XXIX (1913), p.170 n.2: 'La causa que principalmente me movio a escrivir este libro fue por traer a noticia comun de todos este exercicio del recogimiento...ca escrito esta que la sabiduria dulce y muy sabrosa llama y da bozes a los hombres no solamente en los montes altos mas a las puertas y entradas de la cibdad: y en las placas da olor de suavidad...'

85. For this and what follows,see F.de Ros, op.cit. pp.60-62.

86. Ibid., p.72. On the statutes of the recollects, see A.Uribe, 'Espiritualidad de la descalcez franciscana', p.142.

87. F.de Ros., op.cit., pp.428-584.

88. Ibid.

89. Ibid., pp.477-502. For the author's discussion of the differences between the passivism of the dejados and that of the recogidos, ibid p.90.

90. See the evidence given by Isabel de la Cruz in Longhurst, art.cit.

91. Márquez, op.cit., p.237. Proposition 42 outlines the attitude of the dejados towards meditation on Christ's Passion in which they oppose the placing of any impediments between themselves and God: 'Affirmar que Nuestro Senor Iesuchristo crucificado no es medio para que el anima fiel sea con Dios ayuntada, es proposicion herronea y heretica, porque paresce negar el hijo de Dios aver encarnado y ser medianero entre Dios y los hombres.....'

93. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol.72v (78v).

94. Ibid., Fols.95r-96v. The evidence of Gabriel Sánchez, parish priest of Pastrana:'...tanbien oy a francisco ximenez y creo que me dixo lo avia oydo a alcaraz o en guadalajara que quando alguna vez leyo enel testo en guadalajara que no arravan de saber aquellas figuras ne si avia de parar en como es esto o estotro/syno que si entendian algo bien syno que no devian ser curiosos syno pasar adelante/ y les oy desir a algunos dellos, "bendito seras senor que escondiste las cosas alos sabios y las

rrevelaste alos pequenuelos por los umildes...'' There are numerous other examples in Alcaraz's trail of the dejados' opposition to learning and to letrados. For example, see the evidence given by the Licentiate Santander: ' que podia aver un ano que oyo desto a antonio de baeca alcayde desta villa que no se podian conformar los siervos de dios con los letrados...' (fol.64v)

95. Longhurst, art.cit.,p.288; '...que dezia a las dichas personas que no fuesen con condicia a leer la Sagrada Scriptura esto es con apetito de entender lo interior de ella ni gustar en el spiritu lo que gustavan algunos syno que se contentasen con lo que les diese nuestro senor porque la letra matava al spiritu...'

96. The main targets of Alacaraz's hostility towards 'men of learning' were Fr.Juan de Cazalla, the Franciscan bishop of Verisa, and his sister, María de Cazalla, who was tried by the Inquisition in the early 1530s. On the former, see J.Meseguer Fernández, 'Documentos históricos diversos', art.cit. The trial of María de Cazalla has been published by Ortega Costa, op.cit.

97. One witness said of the alumbrados:'no eran amigos de arrobamientos destos tiempos....' AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol.96R (103R).

98. See F. de Osuna, Primer Abecedario Espiritual

(Burgos, 1537),fol.CXXV11r; Tercer Abecedario Espiritual, fol.CX1Xr. For a discussion of accidental mystical phenomena, see F.de Ros,op.cit.pp.73-5.

99. See F.de Ros, op.cit., p.73 on Osuna's acknowledgement that some spiritual experiences, such as visions or ecstatic fits, could be fakes.

100. Parts of the trial of Alonso López de Palomera, the visionary weaver from Pastrana, are included in the trial of Luis de Beteta. See Carrete Parrondo,op.cit.

101. The Franciscan privilege of immunity from Inquisitorial jurisdiction was withdrawn on 3 April 1525. From this date Franciscans, arrested by the Inquisition, were permitted to have another Franciscan present when they were being questioned by inquisitors and, in certain circumstances, were allowed to appeal to the papacy. See Andrés Martín, art.cit. 'Los alumbrados de Toledo...' pp.463-4.

102. Only three Franciscans appear to have been tried or to have been under suspicion by the Holy Office. These were Fr.Francisco Ortiz who was arrested in 1529; Fr.Diego de Barreda, a follower of Isabel de la Cruz, who was apparently burnt as a 'Lutheran'; and Fr.Juan de Cazalla who died while a case against him was being prepared. See Selke,op.cit.,p.512 n.18; Hamilton, op.cit., passim.

103. Quoted by Selke, op.cit., p.233 n.51: 'en esta casa del recogimiento ay muchas mansiones.'

104. On Isabel de la Cruz, see Longhurst, art.cit.; J.Nieto, 'The Heretical Alumbrados.'

105. See AHN: Alcaraz, proceso cit., fol.368v. Alcaraz made this allegation whilst in the torture chamber. He claimed that Isabel de la Cruz had taught him and '...que ella dezia que frayles de san francisco la avia ynpuesto especialmente sabe este declarante que fray diego de barreda estava en lo interior como este confesante...' However, evidence from other witnesses suggests that Fr.Barreda was also instructed in dejamiento by the beata.

106. Ibid., fol. 44v; Longhurst, art.cit.,p.299:'..un fray pedro regalado natural de la cibdad de guadalajara de la horden de san francisco me ablo con arta passion en favor de esta beata y con palabras rigurosas me pregunto que que hera lo que yo acusava a esta beata yo le respondi que no tenia de dalle yo la quenta sino a dios y a los senores ynquisidores dixome pues mira lo que hazeys que toda la horden de san francisco se ha de poner en defension de ysabel de la cruz,....'

107. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol.45-4r.

108. Ibid., fol.359r: Michel Ange, art.cit.,XXVI (1912), p.210, n.1. The latter pointed out that the Franciscan correspondents were not insignificant members of the Order. For example, one correspondent

was Fr.Andrés de Ecija, who was Provincial of Castile between 1521 and 1524, and another was Fr.Antonio de Pastrana who was 'definer' in the same province in 1526.

109. Wadding, op.cit., XVI, p.217; Michel Ange, art.cit. XXVI (1912), pp.220-4. As late as 1528, at the chapter meeting held in Guadalajara, the problem of illuminism was still being discussed.

110. See above, n.25.

111. See Selke, op.cit., pp.231-56.

112. Ibid.,p.232: '...nos poniamos en esta oracion mental, a la qual llaman recogimiento, que es no estar derramados los sentidos, sino procurar de desechar de si todo pensamiento y poner el alma en quietud. Y esto para que viniese el alma a tal estado que ni se acordase de si ni dios; que aunque con el pensamiento no se acordase del...(estaba) el alma unyda con dios. Y para venir en esto, nos poniamos de rrodillas un rrato y despues asentavamonos en un rincon cerrados los ojos, y estavamos alli gran rrato . Y en esto yo algunas vezes abria los ojos porque los que passavan no se escandalizasen; y otras vezes no lo hazia, porque me lo mando el de Ortiz, frayle que es de San Francisco. Y en esto nos pusieron fray Francisco de Osuna, habitante en la Sazeda, y fray Cristoval y el dicho fray Ortiz'.

113. Ibid., p.246: '...y que levantasen la voluntad a amar a Dios, y que con esto, asi cevados en esta suspension, no tenia necessidad de buscar mas.... Y que por esta manera dava Dios grandes conosci-mientos y ensenava en el secreto del alma sin ruido de palabras ciencia maravillosa...'

114. Ibid.,p.249: '...que procurase de tener cada dia, si tuviese lugar para ello, una ora de recogimiento, antes que entrasse a dezir mysa,pensando en el principio en lo que avia de rescribir e en la pasyon de nro. redemptor; e otra ora despues de mysa, pensando en lo que avia rescibido. E esto yo use algund tienpo segund la oportunidad que tenia para ello, e a algunas personas hable yo para que se pusiesen en este recogimiento; pero sienpre les dixe que rezasen primero sus devocienes y que pensasen en la pasyon de nro. redentor, e sespues se recogiesen; e sy algund sentimiento o consolaciones el Senor les diese, que lo rescibiesen con humildad atribuyendolo a su misericordia. Y en este recogimiento me acuerdo que me hablo fray Francisco Ortiz e me dixo lo mesmo que el dicho fray Francisco de Osuna'

115. F.de Osuna, Primer Abecedario Espiritual, fol. CXXVIIr: 'Vi a un religioso cuyo oficio y costumbre era quasi siempre a parejarse para recebir la carne y sangre de Christo: en especial de media noche abaxo tenia mas de tres oras de aparejo fasta que

dezia la missa: enla qual sentia tanta dulcedumbre que muchas vezes se arrimava al altar por no caer como muerto en tierra no podiendo la sufrir: y despues de aver recebido el sancto sacramento comunmente estava dos oras arrobado fuera de si...'

116. See below, p.111.

117. Michel Ange, art.cit., XXIX (1913), pp.178-9,n.1 on the trances of Alonso López de Palomera and the trembling fits of Elvira Duarte, the widow from Madrid. References were also made to these two visionaries in AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fols. 274r-275v, 276v, 283r. See also Osuna, Primer abecedario espiritual, fol.CXXVIIr.

118. Carrete Parrondo, op.cit.,p.67.

119. Ibid., p.67. 'Y el frayle dixome "Pues hazed lo que os dire, y es que, puesto en oracion despues de aver acabado la oracion, y aunque no rezeis tanto como soliades de rezar, poneos en las manos del Senor e dezid: Hazed vos, Senor, en mi segund vuestra voluntad." Y el iva al capitulo a Mondejar quando me dixo estas palabras, que quiça plazera a Dios: " Quando buelba abreys sentido los bienes e gracias que Dios obra en sus criaturas." '

120. Ibid., p.72.

121. Ibid.,pp.57-64.

122. Ibid, p.63. See the testimony of Doña María de Silva, given 7 July 1524: ' Et que preguntandole que hera lo que sentia o veya quando estava en aquel dexamiento, dixo que veya vna lunbre e vu conocimiento e vn gozo muy grand, et que algunas vezes su alma estava con los serafines, et que veya vna verdad que le hazia tener las cosas deste mundo en nada, et que por esta verdad moriria. Et que le preguntaron si avia otros alumbrados como el e dixo que si, que estaban en lo mesmo, et que nonbro alli a vn fray Angel, de la Orden de san Francisco, al qual nonbro mucho, et desia que aquel le avia consolado mucho, et dio a entender que le avia ensenado aquello'.

123. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol.225v: '...procuravan de estar contino en aquellos transponimientos y los vi que se juntavan con este fin unos en casa de otros, y me desian que no solo las fiestas mas los dias de trabajo dexavan los trabajos por se andar asy de veynte en veynte y muchos mas y desto y otras cosas avia mucho escandalo...' See also fol.189v.

124. See Selke op.cit., p.257. Fr.Ortiz warned recogidos that the practice of closing one's eyes during recogimiento might cause what he termed a 'passive scandal'.

125. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol.285v: 'y alli me dixeron que los frayles de la sazeda los avian

puesto en aquello especial un fray cristobal de tendilla antiguo en el exercicio destas cosas'.

126. Ibid.Alcaraz's denunciations of the Escalona Franciscans are contained in letters he wrote to the Inquisition on 22 June 1524 and 31 October 1524. See fols.6r-10v; 17v-18v. On the Escalona Franciscans, see Nieto, 'The Franciscan Alumbrados.'

127. Michel Ange, art.cit.,XXVI, p.224. Fr.Olmillos was elected Provincial of Castile at the Chapter meeting held in Escalona on 26 April 1527.

128. The Marquis of Villena requested a licence from the Papacy in the 1490s to build a male Franciscan house in Escalona. See L.Wadding, op.cit., XV, p.587. The friary was known as Nuestra Señora de los Descalzos,which indicates that the friars there followed an ascetic regime. In 1525 Escalona, Escamilla and Medinaceli friaries,which were each able to house up to fifteen friars, were designated 'recollects'. See Michel Ange, art.cit., XXVI, p.194, n.2.

129. Michel Ange, art.cit., XXIX (1913), pp.51-4.

130. On the Conceptionist house in Escalona and the patronage of the Marquises of Villena, see below ch. 5, pp. 226 ff.

131. Michel Ange, art.cit., XXVI(1912)p.211. He pointed out that despite the pressures Alcaraz and

other prisoners were under, one should not assume that the charges made against the Escalona Franciscans were a complete fabrication.

132. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol.9v Alcaraz told the Provincial, Fr. Andrés de Ecija, '...que antes el de olmillos dezia la misa en el capitulo que es dentro de la claustra y que agora avian hecho un altar en medio de la yglesia para que mas publicamente se viese su misa y sus miraglos.....'

133. Ibid., fol.7r. Fr.Ocaña told Bishop Campo'..que avia de aver rreformacion en la yglesia y que los que la tenia agora avia de ser echados como puercos della....'

134. Ibid., fol.7r:'...un domingo despues el predico en una yglesia de escalona/y tomo por thema en el sermon ece acendimus jerosolimam et omniaque escripta sunt de filium (sic) ominis y declaro luego en romance y dixo ya somos sobidos a iherusalem y seran conplidas todas las cosas que son escriptas del hijo de honbre. y parasciome a mi que no dezia verdad en dezir ya somos subidos a iherusalem que no lo declarava en verdad syno que avia de dezir y myro que subimos a iherusalem. y en no dezir verdad senti del que algud proposito de engano suyo en que le estava interiormente predicava aquello y luego se declaro el mesmo mas enteramente que dixo un grand desbario ya no penseys que quiere dios

trataros con acotes o con palos syno con amor y juro a esta cruz y aquel santo sacramento que esta alli que los de escalona os podeis llamar los mas bienaventurados que ay en el mundo.....'

135. On Fr.Olmillos's testimony, see ibid., fol.74r.

136. Ibid., fol.68r.'...que le parescio a este testigo que el dexamiento que el dicho alcaraz diz que dezia y ensenava le parescia floxedad y error mas que perfeccion y que hablo al dicho alcaraz este testigo diziendole que a los que venian nuevamente al servicio de dios no les pusiese en aquella altura de amor de dios que era error e cosa peligrosa mas antes les mostrase a llorar e confesar sus pecados e que no se acuerda de cosa particular que le respondiese sobre esto porque estava antes este testigo como persona muy obediente que queria mas oyr que no hablar....'.

137. Ibid., fol.63v. See, for example, the evidence of Fr.Alonso de Figueroa, a Mercedarian friar:'..que la mesma opinion tiene fray francisco de ocana predicador de sant francisco de escalona y lo predica y que es publica voz y fama que es por doctrina y ensenança del dicho alcaraz porque el dicho predicador loa mucho y aprueva en sus sermones y fuera dellos al dicho alcaraz y el dicho alcaraz loa y

aprueva al dicho fray francisco y las cosas que predica....'

138. Ibid., fol6.66r-67v: '...que desde la septuagesima del ano proximo pasado fasta la pasqua que agora paso ha oydo mas de doze o treze sermones a fray francisco de ocana predicador de san francisco de escalona/e que en todos sus sermones los que le ha oydo/siempre le ha oydo dezir e predicar del amor de dios/diziendo que se diesan al amor de dios e se dexasen a el/ e quedandose al amor de dios que no tenia nescesidad de otra cosa ninguna... e que no les dezia que guardasen mandamientos ni fiziesen obras de misericordia/ni que creyesen los articulos de la fee ni los sacramentos...e que en este predicar del amor de dios conformava con lo que pedro de alcaraz lego vecino de escalona dezia publica del amor de dios e que son muy amigos/e que tan curradamente (?) predicava el amor de dios que muchas personas especialmente clerigos murmuravan de aquel amor de dios e se escandalizavan dello/e porque al dicho fray francisco le avian dicho que murmuravan del por que no predicava el evangelio e no se declarava (?) en el amor de dios/vio e oyo este testigo como dixo en el pulpito/algunas personas han dicho e murmuran que como no declaro el evangelio

en mis sermones/no me da mas predicar epistolas o evangelios o otras cosas que tiene la yglesia que todo es evangelio/e el evangelio es verdad e lo que yo digo es verdad e sy al contrario desto que yo predico me dixiese dios que no es verdad/no lo creria....'

139. Ibid., fol.213v:'...y tanbien como yo dixe al dicho fray francisco de ocana que siga bien el estudio para predicar y el me dixo que el frayle de olmillos le dezia qu no hera menester estudiar para aquello....'.

140. On this and what follows, see ibid., fol.8v. After the sermon Alcaraz had the following conversation with Fr.Ocaña:..e acabado el sermon hablome el frayle dixome que como me avia parescido yo le dixe que cierto me parescia que el estava syn ningund seso que me perdonase pero que no podia hazer syno dezirlo asy no me tuviese por descortes e que el no avia dicho verdad en el principio del themadel sermon porque aun que yo no hera latino lo avia preguntado sy la declaracion que avia en rromance era como la dio en dezir ya somos sobidos a iherusalem o queria dezir e mira que sobimos a iherusalem e me dixeron que dezia mira que subimos e que luego avia começado en no dezir verdad....'

141. See above, n.134.

142. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit.fols.8v-r

143 Serrano y Sanz, art.cit., p.4;AHN: Alcaraz, proceso cit., fol.8v: '...el me aparto e me dixo quereis que hablemos yo le dixe sy e esto fue despues de comer e el me dixo pues quereys vos que yo haga si me dixeron como en este ano de veynte e quatro el rrey de francia a de ser desposeydo de su reyno por el emperador e el padre guardian a de yr a rroma e yo con el e se a de rreformar la yglesia..'

144. See Nieto, 'The Franciscan Alumbrados'. Nieto transcribes the word 'plagas' as 'plazas', and wrongly identifies the Licentiate Santander as a friar and as the new reforming Pope. This is the relevant section from Alcaraz's Proceso, fol.8v: '.....e el padre guardian e yo lo avemos de hazer e francisca hernandez que esta en valladolid que tiene dios guardada aquella luz para reformar las escripturas e este buen viejo el marques a de poner en su silla al papa que para eso lo guarda dios yo le dixe padre e eso como lo sabeys e el me dixo yo lo se cierto tanto que ninguna dubda tengo yo dixele quien os lo a certificado dixome que no avia cosa que mas cierta el tuviese e que no podia fallar de ser asy e que el padre guardian sabia que esto hera verdad e le avia dicho que el lo sabia asy tambien como el que se lo dezia en sus trasponimientos e que le

mandava el guardian que callase aquellas cosas que lo que este fray francisco sabia mas enteramente se lo dezia (?) a el e que no tuviese dubda de ello e cierto a mi me peso por que el de olmillos estuviese en aquel engano por que antes yo estava con rrecelo queel estava apropriado en el asy dura de sus sentimientos e trasponimientos porque segud he leydo en el libro de santa angela de la manera que el demonio suele enganar a personas espirituales estava sospechoso del e desde aquello me dixo pense que este frayle para afirmar su mentira por verdad lo dezia e aprovava con el de olmillos e dixele eso es cierto que el padre guardian e vos estays en eso conformes e dixo asy es como os lodigo e preguntele quien a de ser papa vos o el guardian dixome no a de ser el guardian syno a destar en rroma e dixele pues luego vos aveys de ser segund eso dixome basta....'

145. Ibid.,fol.8v. According to Michel Ange, art.cit., XXVI (1912), pp.163-4, the beata's influence had spread to New Castile late in 1523 through Fr.Francisco Ortiz. Alcaraz's evidence against Francisca Hernández can be found in his proceso, vols. 277r-280r; on the alleged'reformation' , see also fols.281r-282v: '...e que todo avia de ser hecho por el dicho guardian fray juan de olmillos e por el dicho fray francisco de ocana en rroma e con

ellos francisca hernandez la que esta el valladolid que ella tenia dios guardada para reformacion de las escripturas como luz señalada por ello...'

146. Ibid., fol.9r. Fr Ocana told Alcaraz that '..pues sabed que esperamos las plagas de nuestro padre San Francisco dixele quien dixo el padre guardian e dixele esto dize sy...'; also, fol.280v, 'trabajando unos e otros como el capitulo general hecho en el ano de beynte e quatro que fue en este tiempo de nuestra prision fuese hecho en escalona e aun dentro de la casa del marques para que alli se hordenasen las cosas conformes a los juizios e fin e rrevelaciones de los enganos de los dichos frayles con el dicho provincial fray andres de ecija trabajando de conformarse en esto con todos los otros perlados especial con el general que a este capitulo avia de venir e mucho desto supe de fray francisco de ocana predicador e que el marques sabia el que lo queria e procurava e asy esperavan para esto que se hiziese el dicho capitulo e como tambien esperavan las plagas de senor san francisco en el dicho guardian de escalona...'

147. Ibid., fol.9r-v; 279.

148. Ibid., fol.9v: '....e dixeron vos venis aqui no avras (?) de saber de vos algunas cosas de lo que

dizen destos alumbrados no hables en lo de nuestros frayles pues nadie tiene jurisdiccion sobre ellos syno sus perlados....'

149. Ibid, fol.9v: '....e contaronme por estenso lo que avia pasado en el cabildo desta yglesia con vuestra merced e como avian defendido sus frayles e de la bondad que avia dicho de su frayle de olmillos e tanbien de algunas que conoscian delos que dezian alumbrados e rrogaronme que quedase a comer aquel dia con ellos y despues fuy a dar razon de mi aquellos senores me llamaron e no hable de los frayles mas de dezir que el predicador fray francisco me parescia una persona(?) desconcertada e esto de no dezirles de los frayles fue por lo que me avian dicho sus perlandos queni vuestra merced ni otro juez los avia de juzgar....' There appear to have been two separate enquiries in operation in February 1524, one under the auspices of Bishop Campo, aided by the Licentiate Alonso Mexía, the other by the local tribunal of the Holy Office. The pesquisa carried out by the cathedral chapter seems, on the basis of Alcaraz's evidence, to have questioned the local prelates of the Order regarding the activities of the Escalona Franciscans. At a meeting held of this cabildo, Alonso Manrique ('vuestra merced') seems to have been

present in some unknown capacity. Alcaraz, it should be noted, was summoned to give account of himself to the Inquisition, not to the cathedral chapter. Can this apparent overlapping of jurisdictions be explained by the hypothesis that the Franciscans were under suspicion of heresy and were informally investigated by the cabildo rather than the Holy Office from whose jurisdiction they were still exempt? Further confusion arises because the Licentiate Mexía, a member of the cabildo's pesquisa, was named an inquisitor of Toledo archdiocese on 8 April 1524, that is the same time as he was involved in the pesquisa del ordinario. On this last point, see Ortega Costa, op.cit., p.37, n.1.

150. AHN.:Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol.Iv. The warrant for Alcaraz's arrest was issued on 20 February 1524, presumably shortly after his visit to the Toledo tribunal.

151. Ibid., fol.9v; 279r:'.... e comulgados ally todos por manos del provincial comulgo el de olmillos e luego tuvo sus trasponimientos e començo con ellos a hablar como solia e el provincial mando que cesase el canto de los frayles...para que se oyese lo que dezia el de olmillos el el provincial cubierto de lagrimas de lo ver tranpuesto e oyrle lo que asy dezia estubieron hasta que acabo su sermon..'

152. Ibid., fol.9v:'.... lo que proveyo el provincial fue que el de olmillos dixese su misa en la clausura e entravan alla quien queria e mando que el predicador no predicase syno fuese al marques....'

153. Ibid., fol.279r: '....e dixome el dicho fray francisco de ocana que le avia dicho este su provincial que mirase como hablaba en lo de la rreformacion de la yglesia para (?) que no se enojase contra ellos e les quitasen las limosnas especial las del arcobispo de toledo e dexando al guardian que que dixese su misa como la desia e la oyesen los que los frayles querian e al predicador fray francisco que predicase al marques e asy se hazia...'.

154. Michel Ange, art.cit.,XXVI (1912), p.215. The author warns against accepting all the allegations made by Alcaraz but '....l'ensemble de ces faits ne saurait être rejeté en bloc et considéré comme une pure fable: il dénonce clairement la disposition générale, une sorte d'état d'âme d'un nombre plus ou moins considérable de religieux.'

155. On the impact of the Lutheran threat on Spain, see A.Redondo, 'Luther et l'Espagne de 1520 a 1536' M.C.V. I (1965),pp.109-65.

156. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol.271v. See the evidence of Gabriel de Vega: '...que dezia que avia de pasar a roma y edificalla a catorze leguas

de guadalajara e quitar al papa e hazer papa al dicho pedro de ruedo e por consiguiente cardinales a otras personas...' See also Hamilton, op.cit., p.123.

157. See J.Imirizaldu (ed.), Monjas y beatas embaucadoras (Madrid, 1977), p.56.

158. Carrete Parrondo, op.cit., p.70. 'Mas me acuerdo del bicario de la Sazeda, que me dixo en secreto que le tubiese puridad, que este Leuterio o como le dixen que le avian dicho que era el ante Christo e que Dios lo remediaria muy presto, en que no certifico tiempo mas de hasta el dia de Ano Nuevo, que pensava seria remediado por vna criatura que le pondria Dios sus ynsynias en sus plagas, e que este ponia mucha paz en la tierra, y entre moros e judios e christianos seria la luz de Dios muy esclarescida en su gloria, e biniendo aqui otra vez descalona me dixo que avia pesado a vn fray Juan de Olmillos desto, que le tubiese mucha porquedad' There are two further references to 1524 as a year of messianic expectations. See Alvar Gutiérrez de Torres, El Sumario de las Maravillosas y Espantables cosas que en el mundo han acontescido.(Madrid, 1952) fol.5r.: 'La verdadera y muy provechosa declaracion que se ha de tener acerca de las varias y diversas opiniones que en astrologia fueron

escritas por causa de la muchas comunicaciones que en el mes de febrero deste presente ano de mil y quinientos y veynte y quatro en el signo de piscis fueron fechas....' In the same year Fr.Francisco de los Angeles Quiñones, the general of the Fransican Order, in his farewell sermon to the twelve friars who were travelling to the New World to convert the Aztecs, had cited the parable from Matthew which begins: 'And as Jesus was going on up to Jerusalem, he took the twelve disciples aside, and on the way he said to them, "Behold we are going up to Jerusalem and the Son of Man will be delivered to the chief priests and scribes, and they will condemn him to death"....' As Phelan points out, op.cit. p.23, Quiñones '...referred to their mission as the beginning of the last preaching of the gospel on the eve of the end of the world.' It is interesting to note that the parable cited by Quiñones was the same one which caused some controversy in Escalona in February 1524, and which provoked an argument between Alcaraz and Fr.Francisco de Ocaña. On this, see above, n.140.

159. AHN: Alcaraz, proceso cit., fol.378r. '.....estos reos se movieron a principio e se metieron en estos negeocios de amor de dios e del recogimiento

e dexamiento de sus animas e voluntades en dios con bueno zelo e yntencion por consejo de algunos religiosos e personas espirituales....e paresce asi mesmo e se prueba por la pesquisa general que se rrescibieron (?) sobre estos neogocios que muchas personas delas que se dieron a principio a este rrecogimiento aunque eran malas e viciosas se apartaron de vicios e pecados publicos en que estavan e se ocuparon en buenos e santos exercicios e obras de dios....se prueva que estos reos e otras personas fueron ynpuestos en el dicho dexamiento e rrecogimiento por personas religiosas e de buena vida e que las dichas personas rreligiosas alabavan despues a estos dichos pedro de alcaraz e a la dicha ysabel de la cruz e a sus obras por muy buenos e perfectos..'

160. See M.Serrano y Sanz, 'Juan de Vergara y la Inquisicion de Toledo'. R.A.B.M., V (1901), pp.896-912; VI (1902)pp.29-42, 466-86.

161. Bataillon, op.cit., pp.475-90.

CHAPTER 3 FOOTNOTES

1. Cohen, op. cit., passim.
2. The following editions of Espina's work have been used:
   Fortalitium Fidei (Nuremberg, 1489), in the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), Inc. 1500;
   La Forteresse de la Foy (Lyon, 1511?), in Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique, MS. 9007.
3. On the 1449 uprising, see E. Benito Ruano, Toledo en el siglo XV (Madrid, 1961), ch. 2.
4. For this and what follows, see Beinart, Conversos on Trial, pp. 9-20.
5. The text of the sentencia is in Memorias de don Enrique IV, II, pp. 355-479.
6. On the whole background, see Beinart, La Inquisición Española, passim.
7. On the methodological problems involved in examining the social origins of friars, see J.B. Freed, The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), pp. 109-34.
8. On Espina's background, see B. Nethanyahu, 'Alonso de Espina: Was he a New Christian?', Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, 43 (1976), pp. 107-65; Beinart, Conversos on Trial, pp. 9-10; Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España, s.v. 'Espina'.

9. See F. Cantera Burgos, 'Fernando de Pulgar y los Conversos', Sefarad, 4 (1944), pp. 295-348 (p. 319).

10. The friary of El Abrojo was founded by the Villacrecian reform movement.

11. See Alonso de Palencia, Crónica de Enrique IV, trans. and ed. A. Paz y Melia, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1973-5), I, p. 48.

12. See M. Esposito, 'Une secte d'hérétiques à Medina del Campo en 1459. D'après le Fortalitium Fidei d'Alphonse de Espina', Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique, 32 (1936), pp. 350-60 (pp. 353-4).

13. In the Franciscans' letter to Henry IV in 1461, Espina was described as the King's confessor. See Fr. J. de Siguenza, Historia de la Orden de San Jerónimo, 2 vols. (Madrid, 2nd edition, 1907-9), I, pp. 265-6.

14. See Beinart's article in Encyclopedia Judaica, s.v. 'The Inquisition' (and p. 1382 for the quotation).

15. For the editions used here, see above, n.2.

16. On this and what follows, see Cohen, op. cit., chs. 6 and 7.

17. Ibid., p. 156, and the author's comments in n.63.

18. Fortalitium fol. XLI^{v}.

19. For Espina's discussion of other heresies, see ibid., fols. XXXI^{v} - XXXVIII^{r}.

20. On Espina's 'literary sources', see M. Esposito, 'Notes sur le Fortalitium Fidei d'Alphonse de Spina', Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique', 43 (1948), pp. 514-36.

21. See K. Reinhardt and M. Santiago-Otero, Biblioteca bíblica ibérica medieval (Madrid, 1986), pp. 63-4.

22. Beinart, Conversos on Trial, p. 20.

23. See J. Rodríguez-Puértolas, Poesía de protesta en la Edad Media castellana: Historia y antología (Madrid, 1968).

24. Esposito, 'Une secte', pp. 253-4.

25. See above, n.3.

26. On the contradictory nature of papal legislation, see V. Beltrán de Heredia, 'Las bulas de Nicolás V acerca de los conversos de Castilla', Sefarad, 21 (1961), pp. 22-47. See also Sicroff, op. cit., pp. 32-6. The sentencia-estatuto was approved by John II in August 1451: on this, see H. Kamen, Inquisition and Society in Spain (London, 1985), p. 25.

27. Beinart, Conversos on Trial, ch. 1.

28. In the Instrucción del relator, composed by Fernán Díaz de Toledo in response to the 1449 uprising, the author provided a list of noble families of converso origin. See Defensorium Unitatis Christianae, ed. M. Alonso (Madrid, 1943), pp. 343-56.

29. Beinart, Conversos on Trial, pp. 6-9; Sicroff, op. cit., pp. 36-62.

30. Sicroff, op. cit., pp. 67-75.

31. For this and what follows, see Siguenza, op. cit., p. 365.

32. Fortalitium, fol. CXIIII^{v}.

33. Encyclopedia Judaica, s.v. 'Inquisition', p. 1382.

34. See, for example, Fortalitium, fols. LXXVIII^{v}, XCV^{r}.

35. See in general S.W. Baron, A Social and Religious History of the Jews, 18 vols. (London, New York, Philadelphia, 1952-83), vol XI; J. Amador de los Ríos, Historia social, política y religiosa de los judíos de España, 3 vols. (Madrid, 1875-6); Y. Baer, A History of the Jews in Christian Spain, 2 vols. (Philadelphia, 1961), vol II; A. Neuman, The Jews in Spain. Their Social, Political and Cultural Life during the Middle Ages (Philadelphia, 1944).

36. The repartimiento lists are in Amador de Los Ríos, op. cit., III, pp. 590-602.

37. Ibid., new edition in one volume (Madrid, 1960), pp. 965-70.

38. Ibid., first edition, III, pp. 583-9.

39. Ibid., p. 135.

40. The figures for these three aljamas were: Segovia, 11.000 mrs; Avila, 12.000 mrs; Ocana, 11.300 mrs.
41. Amador de los Ríos, op. cit., III, pp. 131-2, n.3.
42. See A. MacKay,'Popular Movements and Progroms in Fifteenth-Century Castile; Past and Present, no.55 (1972), pp. 33-69 (p. 41).
43. See, for example, Fortalitium, fol. LXXVIII^{r}.
44. See Baer, op. cit., II, pp. 283 ff.
45. Fortalitium, fols. LXXXVIII^{v} - XC^{r}.
46. Ibid., fols. LXXVI^{v} - LXXVII^{r}.
47. Ibid., fols. LXXVII^{r} - LXXVIII^{r}.
48. Baron, op. cit., XI, p. 156. On the case of the Santo Niño de La Guardia, see Encyclopedia Judaica, s.v. 'La Guardia, Holy Child of'.
49. V.W. Turner, The Ritual Process : Structure and Anti-Structure (London, 1969), p. 153.
50. For a discussion of the typology of the witch, see C. Larner, Enemies of God. The Witch-Hunt in Scotland (Oxford, 1981), ch. 8.
51. See C. Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica, II, pp. 180-1, 210, 227.
52. Palencia, op. cit., I, pp. 60-1.
53. I am grateful to Professor A.I.K. MacKay for supplying me with this information.
54. Eubel, op. cit., II, pp. 112, 234, 271 (The bishops in question were Alonso de Cartagena, Luis Vásquez de Acuña, Fernando López del Orden, and Juan de Mella).
55. See Beinart, La Inquisición Española, pp. 9ff.

56. This is the impression conveyed by Palencia, op. cit., I, p. 47. See also N.G. Round, The Greatest Man Uncrowned : A Study of the Fall of Don Alvaro de Luna (London, 1965), pp. 64-5.

57. See, for example, Fortalitium, fol. XLIX^{r}.

58. See the edition by M. Alonso, passim.

59. On Juan de Mella, see V. Beltrán de Heredia, Cartulario de la Universidad de Salamanca, 6 vols. (Salamanca, 1970-2), I, pp. 500-28.

60. Forteresse, fol. 217^{r}.

61. See Neuman, op. cit., p. 219.

62. Ibid., p. 219.

63. See below, pp. 143-4.

64. See Fortalitium, fols LXXVII^{r-v}.

65. Ibid., fol LXXVII^{r}: 'Cum enim essem in civitate quadam subiecta ianue que dicit saona ut videre sacrificari quendam infantem christianum ...'.

66. For this episode, see ibid., fol LXXVII^{r}. At the feast of Passover a mixture of wine, nuts, apples and pears is consumed in a pastry substance known as charoset. This is considered symbolic of the mortar that the Jews were forced to use in building when they were slaves in Egypt. Jewish law also prescribes the drinking of four cups of red wine on Passover night. However, in areas where there was a possibility of a blood libel accusation, white wine was recommended. I am most grateful to Mr. Philip Hersch for this information.

67. Fortalitium, fol. LXXVII^{v}: '... que omnia supradicta de duabus crudelitatibus inscriptis sunt redacta et signata et in supradicto conventu mio reservata ad memoriam ...'.

68. Ibid., fol. LXXVII^{v}.

69. Ibid., fols LXXVII^{v} - LXVIII^{r}.

70. Ibid., fol. LXXVII^{v}: 'Supra quo facto predictus didacus de almanca fecit diligentem inquisitione et invenit predictos iudeos reos in crimine captoque uno illos que fecerat factum vir quippe rubeus capillis et barba que ego vidi...'.

71. Ibid., fol. LXXVII^{v}: 'Cunque vellet facere iusticiam de eodem iudei qui non dormiebant velocissime itinerantes a rege literas habuerunt in quibus advocabat causam ad se et mandabat militi que non procederet ultra quo usque amplius viderent in causa et sic cessavit predicto miles ab executione justicie...'.

72. Ibid., fol. LXXVII^{v}.

73. Ibid.

74. See above, n.48.

75. For the episode in Toro, see Fortalitium, fol. LXXVIII^{r}.

76. For the various accusations against Jews during the Middle Ages, see J. Trachtenberg, The Devil and the Jews (Newhaven, 1945).

77. Fortalitium, fol. LXXVIII^{v}.

78. For example, the noble is described as an inmate of the Benedictine monastery in Valladolid : ibid.

79. Ibid., fols. LXXIX^{v} - LXXX^{r}.

80. See Encyclopedia Judaica, s.v. 'Blood Libel'.

81. See above, n.64.

82. See New Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. 'Age (Canon Law)'.

83. See Baer, op. cit., II, pp. 398-423.

84. See Encyclopedia Judaica, s.v. 'Host, desecrations of'.

85. See, for example, W.A. Christian, Jnr., Apparitions in Late Medieval and Renaissance Spain (Princeton, 1981), passim.

86. Fortalitium, fol. XCV^{r}.

87. Ibid., fol. XCIV^{v}.

88. See, for example, the Coplas del Provincial, the text of which is reproduced in Rodríguez-Puértolas, Poesía crítica y satírica del siglo XV (Madrid, 1981), pp. 233-62.

89. Fortalitium, fol. XCV^{r}.

90. Ibid., fol. LXXVIII^{v}.

91. MacKay, 'Popular Movements', pp. 41-4.

92. See S. Munk, Mélanges de philosophie juive et arabe (Paris, 1857-9), p. 508, n.1.

93. Neuman, op. cit., p. 267.

94. Munk, op. cit., p. 508, n.1.

95. One case not cited by Espina allegedly occurred in Salamanca in 1456: see C. Carrete Parrondo, Fontes Iudaeorum Regni Castellae (Salamanca, 1981), p. 120, num. 334.

96. See The Jewish Encyclopedia, 12 vols. (New York, 1925), XI, p. 500.

97. See Diego de Colmenares, Historia de la insigne cuidad de Segovia, new edition in 3 vols. (Segovia, 1974-84), II, p. 82.

98. Ibid.

99. When the Spanish Inquisition was established, it was designed primarily to deal with judaizing conversos; however, in the sixteenth century the scope of inquisitional activity increased dramatically.

100. Colmenares, op. cit., II, p. 82.

101. See above, n.48.

102. Fortalitium, fol. XCI^{v}.

103. For this and what follows, see ibid., fol. XL^{r}.

104. H. Kamen has pointed out that there was very little difference between Espina's blueprint and the procedures laid down for the medieval Inquisition. See his Inquisition and Society in Spain in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries (London, 1985), p. 24.

105. See Beinart, Conversos on Trial, p. 15.

106. See Fortalitium, fols. XL^{r} - XLI^{v}.

107. Beinart, Conversos on Trial, pp. 15-19.

108. Fortalitium Fidei, fols. XXVIII^{r} - XXVIII^{v}.

109. On the Durango heretics, see above, ch. 2, pp. 66ff.

110. Fortalitium, fols. XXVII^{v} - XXVIII^{r}.

111. Ibid., fols. XXVIII^{v} - XXXI^{v}.

112. Beinart, La Inquisición española, pp. 9 ff.

113. Ibid., p. 9; 'Lo que no se sabe con exactitud es si los desmanes contra los conversos toledanos, que se iniciaron el 27 de enero de ese ano, coincidieron con la rebelión de Sarmiento o tuvieron lugar posteriormente. Si analizamos los vínculos entre los autores de los desmanes y Pedro Sarmiento, podemos afirmar que ese vínculo era bastante sólido, y hasta es posible que tanto la sublevación como las depredaciones fueron preparadas en perfecta anuencia.'

114. See Fortalitium, fols. XXIX^{v} - XXX^{v}.

115. On the sentencia-estatuto of 1449, see M. Alonso, ed. Defensorium Unitatis Christianae, op. cit., appendix II, pp. 357-65; on the Memorial, see E. Benito Ruano, 'El Memorial contra los conversos del bachiller Marcos García de Mora "Marquillos de Mazarambroz"', Sefarad, 17, (1957), pp. 314-51.

116. Benito Ruano, art. cit., p. 318.

117. ibid., p. 332.

118. For this and what follows, see Beltrán de Heredia, art. cit., passim.

119. Ibid., p. 29.

120. On Luna's problematical attitude towards the conversos, see Round, op. cit., chs. 2 and 6.

121. See Beinart, Conversos on Trial, pp. 12-13.

122. Fortalitium, fol. XXIX^{r}.

121. Ibid., fols. XXIX^{r} - XXIX^{v}. Turner, in his discussion on the foundation myths attached to the tradition of circumcision, referred to one in which '... a woman left her child playing on the grass in the garden and it was accidentally circumcised by a sharp grass...'. See his The Forest of Symbols. Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (Ithaca, London, 1967), p. 152. Compare this explanation with those offered in the Fortalitium Fidei by the woman from Zamora.

124. On this and what follows, see Fortalitium, fol. XXIX^{v}.

125. Ibid., fol. XXIX^{v}.

126. Ibid., fols. XXXI^{v} - XXXII^{r}.

127. On the messianic aspirations inspired by this event, see Beinart, La Inquisición española, p. 27.

128. Fortalitium, fols. XXIX^{v} - XXX^{r}.

129. Ibid., fol. XXIX^{v}.

130. On this and what follows, see ibid., fol. XXX^{r}.

131. See Beinart, Conversos on Trial, p. 13 n.35.

132. See the interesting discussion by S. Clark, 'Inversion, Misrule and the Meaning of Witchcraft', Past and Present, 87 (May, 1980), pp. 98-127.

133. On witch beliefs, see Larner, op. cit., ch. 1. and passim.

134. Fortalitium,, fol XXX^{r} - ^{v}.

135. Ibid., fol XXX^{r}.

136. Ibid., fol. XXX^{r}.

137. Ibid., fol. XXX^{r} - ^{v}.

138. Ibid., fol XXX^{v}.

139. Espania gives a list of these witnesses in ibid., fol XXX^{v}.

140. Ibid., fol. XXXI^{v}.

141. Ibid., fol. XXX^{v}.

142. Ibid., fol. XXXI^{r}.

143. Ibid., fols. XXXI^{v} - XXXVIII^{r}.

144. See, in particular, the controversy surrounding the beliefs of Pedro de Osma in Diccionario de historia eclesiástica, s.v. 'Osma, Pedro de'.

145. See The New Catholic Encyclopedia, s.v. 'Lateran Councils'.

146. See Fortalitium, fol. XXXIII^{v}.

CHAPTER 4 : FOOTNOTES

1. O. Hufton, 'Women in history. Early Modern Europe', Past and Present, 101 (1983), pp. 125-41 (p. 136).
2. Molinié-Bertrand, art.cit., pp. 37-53.
3. For this and what folows, see R. Trexler, 'Le celibat à la fin du moyen âge: Les religieuses de Florence', Annales E.S.C., XXVII (1972), pp. 1329-50.
4. On the development of the Second and Third Orders in the Later Middle Ages, see J. Moorman, A History, op. cit., pp. 548-59; 560-8; I. Omaechevarría, Las clarisas a través de los siglos (Madrid, 1972); Escritos de Santa Clara (Madrid, 1970). On the Order of the Immaculate Conception, see I. Omaechevarría, Las monjas concepcionistas; Orígenes de la concepción de Toledo (Burgos, 1976); Comentarios a la regla de la orden de la inmaculada concepción (Burgos, 1977); E. Gutiérrez, Beata Beatriz de Silva y los orígenes de la orden de la inmaculada concepción (Valladolid, 1967).
5. Alonso de Morgado, Historia de Sevilla (Seville, 1587: Edition in the British Library), fols. 157^{r-v}: 'Antiguaments (quando no auia tan formados Monasterios de Monjas como en este tiempo) acostumbravan las castas y devotas Sevillanas (que pretendian recogerse y hazer vida sancta debaxo de encerramiento) tomar habito de Beatas recogidas, y (auiendo dado la obediencia a algun Monasterio de Frailes de los

de Sevilla) retraerse en casas particulares y de por si en forma de Monasterios con sus tornos y porterias, donde no pudiessen entrar hombres ningunos. Estas tales casas buscavan y compravan ellas, pegadas con Iglesias parrochiales, de tal manera, que abriendo vna rexa al cuerpo dela Iglesia descubrian el altar mayor de donde oian missa dentro de sus encerramientos. Porque no tenian ellas, en las tales casas de recogimiento, Capillas ni Capellanes ni obligacion de Coro, no siendo otra su profession que vivir alli (recogidas y encerradas en perpetua castidad del trabajo y labor de sus manos y con sus patrimonios)'.

6. Licences to found convents can be checked in works such as Annales Minorum 32 vols., ed. L. Wadding et al (Quaracchi and Rome, 1934-64); Bullarium Franciscanum, Nova Series, Vol I (1431-1455), ed. Fr. Ulricus Huntemann, O.F.M. (Quaracchi, 1929); Nova Series, Vol II (1455-1471), ed. Fr. Ioseph M. Pou y Marti, O.F.M. (Quaracchi, 1939); Nova Series, Vol. III (1471-1484), ed. Fr. Ioseph M. Pou y Marti, O.F.M., (Quaracchi, 1949); Vol. V (1303-1317), ed. Conrado Eubel (Rome, 1898); Vol. VI (1335-1378), ed. Conrado Eubel (Rome, 1902); Vol. VII (1378-1431), ed. Conrado Eubel (Rome, 1904); Addito Supplemento (c. 1218-1302), ed. Conrado Eubel (Quaracchi, 1908).

7. For the number of female religious listed in the 1591 census, see Molinié-Bertrand, art. cit., pp. 37-53; for Andalusia, see Sánchez Herrero, art. cit.; A. Escribano Castilla, art. cit.; for New Castile, see W.A. Christian, Jnr., Local Religion, pp. 15-19.

8. See Diccionario de Historia Eclesiástica de España, I, s.v. 'Clarisas'.

9. L. Martz, Poverty and Welfare in Habsburg Spain (Cambridge, 1982), p. 115.

10. Details of the female convents and beaterios in Toledo can be found in Pedro de Alcocer, Hystoria, o descripcion dela imperial cibdad de Toledo (Toledo, 1554; Edition in the British library), fols. XLIII^{v}-XL^{v}.

11. See Sánchez Herrero, art. cit., pp. 446-7.

12. These figures are taken from Wadding, op.cit., XVI, pp. 192, 216-20.

13. See below, chap. 5.

14. A. Abad Pérez, O.F.M. 'Nuevos documentos entorno a San Juan de la Penitencia de Toledo', A.I.A., 36 (1976), pp.119-23, 375-416. The quotation is taken from p.406: '... e para recoger, criar y mantener las Doncellas pobres e necessitadas, que se recibiesen en la Casa de Doncellas; e para dotar las que dellas se hubiesen de casar'.

15. For example, María de Santa Cruz, the co-founder

of the convent of St. Michael in Toledo, stipulated in her will that five women from 'honest' families could be received in the convent free of charge. See Alcocer, op.cit., fol. CX^{r}. On the convent of St. Michael, see below, chap. 5.

16. For details of the distribution of male houses during this period, see above, chap. 1.

17. This point is discussed below, Chap. 6.

18. Conventual patronage and the dowry-system are discussed below, Chap. 5. For a discussion of marriage and women's dowries, see M.C. Gerbet, op.cit., pp. 179-81; C. Klapisch-Zuber, 'La "mère cruelle": Maternité, veuvage et dot dans la Florence des XIV^{e}-XV^{e} siècles', Annales E.S.C., 38 (1983), pp. 1092-1109.

19. For the population figures for Castile, see T. González, op.cit.; Descripción y cosmografía de España por Fernando Colón, op.cit.; J. Pérez, La révolution des 'Comunidades' de Castille (1520-1) (Bordeaux, 1970), p. 20. For Andalusia, in particular, see Miguel Bernal et al., art.cit.: Cabrera Muñoz, art.cit.; Fortea Pérez, op.cit.

20. Some convents housed several women with the same surname. See below, chap. 5.

21. For example, some of the Franciscan tertiary houses in the Burgos area were involved in the wool and textile trade. See Uribe and de Lejarza, art.cit., pp. 880-1.

22. Morgado suggests that beaterios gave women the same kind of protection that cemeteries and churches offered to men who had committed crimes. Se op.cit. fol. 157^{v}. 'Y tambien me paresce a mi que son estos Emparedamientos a las mugeres, en las cosas de pleito que a lugar, como cimenterios, de la manera, que alos hombres delinquentes los templos y lugares sagrados'.

23. See González, op.cit., pp.84, 86. For example, in 1530, in Seville, there were 229 widows out of a pechero population of 6634; in Carmona, there were 459 widows and 1394 pecheros; in the province of Jaen, 4065 widows and 19.407 pecheros.

24. B. Bennassar, Valladolid au siècle d'or. Une ville de Castille et sa campagne au XVI siècle (Paris, The Hague, 1967), pp. 190-1. In 1561, 21% of the vecino population were widows; in Segovia, Burgos and Valladolid, the figures were 19%, 20.1% and 15% respectively.

25. L. Martz and J. Porres, Toledo y los toledanos en 1561 (Toledo, 1974), pp. 34-7. See also Martz, op.cit., 104.

26. In 1591, the number of nuns and beatas living in Toledo was approximately 1.137. By this time one more convent and two more beaterios had been founded. See C. Viñas y Mey y Paz, Relaciones de los pueblos de España. Reino de Toledo, 3 vols. (Madrid,

1951-63), III, pp. 546-50.

27. Fr. Francisco de Osuna, Norte de los estados (Burgos, 1550: Edition in the British Library).

28. Ibid., fol. XXVIII^{v}: 'Pues aquesta soberuia da en casamiento a los mercaderes hijas de caualleros: y fasta los juristas hazen mayorazgos: y dexa por casar a las hijas de los senores que no tienen mucho: y hartas meten monjas sin voluntad de lo ser ...'

29. Ibid., fol. CCXI^{r}: 'Donde para casar un labrador su hija: a le de dar quasi quanto tiene/y si tiene muchas hijas: la una se lo lleva todo: y las otras an de ser pobres beatas detras el fuego'.

30. Ibid., fol. CCXII^{r}.

31. For this and what follows, see M.E. Perry, 'Deviant Insiders : Legalized Prostitutes and a Consciousness of Women in Early Modern Seville', Comparative Studies in Society and History 27 (1985), pp. 138-58.

32. Ibid., pp.147-8.

33. Morgado, op.cit., fol. 156^{r}. 'Para las tales mugeres publicas peccadoras estan las puertas deste Monasterio abiertas dempar en par, y son enel recibidas con toda charidad. Tienen sus Maestras que las instruyen en el arte de mejor servir a Dios, y las ensenan a leer y escrivir, y cantar, y rezar las oras y lo demas necessario al culto divino ...'

34. Alcocer, op.cit., fol. CXVIII^{v}. Perry, art.cit., p.142, points out that royal ordinances for Seville repeatedly refer to brothels as 'monasteries', complete with bogus 'abbesses'.

35. The Council of Trent repeated the admonition that female religious should observe strict enclosure. See Perry, art.cit., p.147. On Cisneros' earlier campaign to impose enclosure, see García Oro, op.cit., pp. 97; 165-6; 333; 366; 368-9. In Toledo, the authorities ordered prostitutes to attend Church during Holy Week, and to take up residence for the duration in 'honest places'. See Alcocer, op.cit., fol. CXVIII^{v}.

36. On the role played by the Franciscans in the illuminist movement, see above, chap. 2, pp. 78ff; on the visionary phenomenon, see below, chap. 6.

CHAPTER 5 : FOOTNOTES

1. The main sources I have used here are manuscripts from the fifteenth and early sixteenth century relating to the female Franciscan houses in Toledo from the Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid) and documents relating to the Fernández de Córdoba family from the Archivo de los Duques de Medinaceli (Seville).

2. On the fifteenth century reforms, see Uribe and Lejarza art.cit. On the reform of the Second Order of St. Clare, see Moorman, A History pp.548-59. On ecclesiastical reform during the reign of the Catholic Kings, see García Oro, op.cit., pp.171-237.

3. On the finances of reformed Observant houses, see Azcona, op.cit., p.612.

4. See above, Ch.4.

5. On the Fernández de Córdoba family, see Quintanilla y Raso, op.cit.
On Franciscan patronage in Toledo, see Alcocer, op.cit.; Martz, op.cit.; Francisco de Pisa, Descripcion de la imperial ciudad de Toledo, y historia de sus antiguedades, y grandeza y cosas memorables que en ella han acontecido, de los reyes que la han señoreado, y gouernado en succession de tiempos: y de los arçobispos de Toledo, principalments de los mas celebrados

(Toledo, 1605: Edition in the British Library); L. Martz and J. Porris, op.cit.

6. For this and what follows, see Moorman, A History, and the studies by I. Omaechevarría: Escritos de Santa Clara; Las Monjas Concepcionistas: Orígenes de la concepción de Toledo; Las clarisas a través de los siglos. On the function of patronage viz-a-viz male houses, see above Ch.1.

7. Omaechevarría, Las monjas concepcionistas, pp.66 - 7.

8. On the reform of the Poor Clares during the reign of the Catholic Monarchs, see García Oro, op.cit., pp.239 - 69.

9. On the election of nuns to positions of authority, see A. Abad Pérez, O.F.M., 'San Juan de la Penitencia. Obra social del cardenal Cisneros en Toledo', Anales Toledanos, II (1968), pp.1 - 88 (p.42).

10. The tertiaries in San Juan de la Penitencia, Toledo, were required to recite seventy-six Pater Nosters. seeibid., p.20.

11. See in general, Omaechevarría, Escritos de Santa Clara. J. Meseguer Fernández states that novices had to be 12 years old and could take their vows at 16: see his 'La Concepción de Olmedo. Documentos para su historia', A.I.A., 31 (1971), pp.173 - 211 (p.192, notes 14 and 15).

12. See Abad Pérez, art.cit.

13. Fr. Francisco de Osuna was one of the earliest proponents of frequent reception of the Holy Eucharist. He encouraged clerics, nuns, beatas and 'fervent Christians' to receive the Eucharist every Sunday. See his Gracioso combite de las gracias del sancto sacramento del altar: hecho a todas las animas de los cristianos principalmente alos religiosos clerigos :monjas: beatas: y devotos de la sacra comunion de la missa (Burgos, 1537: Edition in the British Library). See also Fidèle de Ros, art.cit. p.228,n.1.

14. Abad Pérez, art.cit, p.20.

15. Ibid. It was fairly common for noblewomen to receive papal permission to enter a convent at certain times of the year. For example, in 1463, doña Beatriz Manrique, Countess of Haro, was permitted to enter the convent of Medina de Pomar, where two of her daughters were nuns, eight times per year. In 1459, doña María Portocarrero, wife of the Marquis of Villena, her daughters,and four other 'honest' women,were given permission to enter, eat,and spend the night in any Franciscan convent eight times a year. In 1463, dona María Beatriz and two other ladies were permitted to enter the convent of Santa Clara, Palencia, but not to spend the night. On this, see A. López, O.F.M., 'El franciscanismo en España (1455-71)' A.I.A., pp. 490 - 570.

16. Abad Pérez, art.cit.

17. For discussion of the dowry system, see Gerbet op.cit., pp. 169-70. 179-81; C. Klapisch-Zuber, art,cit.

18. Canon 64, promulgated at the IV Lateran Council (1215),had prohibited convents from denying admittance to those women who could not afford the requisite dowry.

19. See the dowry table, Appendix 3.

20. See Meseguer Fernández, 'La concepción de Olmedo': for example in 1580, a woman paid a reduced fee for 10.000 mrs and was admitted to the convent as a cook (p.190); another woman paid 50 ducats as she had worked in the convent for several years (pp.191-2); in 1591, a free place was offered to a tanedora (p.192).

21. Gerbet, op.cit., p.179

22. Ibid. pp.180-1. 'Le montant des dotes montre une nette tendance,indépendamment de l' érosion monétaire, à s'élever au cours du XVe siècle. En effet, l'usage se répand de plus en plus de donner en dot l' équivalent de la future part d' héritage, de la 'légitime'''. According to Gerbet, this process was complete by c.1500 (p.300).

23. Ibid., p.179

24. One such letter was drawn up by doña Teresa Pacheco before she entered the Franciscan house in Baza. See below, p. 219.
There is a literary allusion to this connection between preservation of the mayorazgo and women being obliged to adopt a religious vocation. In Miguel de Carvajal's Cortes de la Muerte, which was composed sometime before 1522, the following lines appear:

'Que nuestros padres, por dar
a los hijos la hacienda,
nos quisieron despojar,
y sobre todo encerrar
donde Dios tanto se ofenda...'

Quoted in J. Rodríguez-Puértolas, De la edad media a la edad conflictiva (Madrid, 1972), p.273.

25. Klapisch-Zuber, art.cit., p.1099.

26. For a discussion on surnames, see M.C. Quintanilla Raso, 'Estructuras sociales y familiares y papel político de la nobleza cordobesa (siglos XIV y XV)', in En la España medieval, III (1982: Estudios en memoria del profesor D. Salvador de Moxó, ed M.A. Ladero Quesada (Madrid, 1982), II, pp.331-52; 337-8
See also, Gerbet op.cit., pp.233-44.

27. The woman's surname was placed in front of her husband's only if she was of higher rank. For example, the son and heir of the conde-duque Francisco de Sotomayor and doña Teresa de Zúñiga, Duchess of Béjar, was called don Alfonso de Zúñiga y Sotomayor, much to his father's shame. On this, see E. Cabrera, 'Notas sobre la muerte y el paradero de los restos del maestre de Alcántara, don Gutierre de Sotomayor', pp. 185-94.

28. See above Ch. 1.

29. The papal Bull Cum Sicut pro Parte (31-5-1502) gave Cardinal Cisneros the authority to use incomes from reformed male houses for schools for Observant friars and reformed female Franciscans See García Oro, op.cit. pp 239-69.

30. Sometimes the nuns purchased annual incomes from male friaries which had adopted an Observant regime. For example, in 1505, the friars of Huete sold a merced of 6 cahices of salt to the convent of Santa Clara in Alcocer, and, in 1508, the nuns purchased a juro from the same friary. See A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp. 569, n. 6; carp. 582, n. 1

31. For example, the tertiaries in San Juan de la Penitencia, Toledo, had surnames such as 'Santa Clara', 'San Miguel', 'San Francisco', 'Bautista', and 'María Magdalena'. An early historian

of this convent pointed out, 'Y que en este tiempo (C.1531) se conservaban...como monjas descalzas hasta en los apellidos de los santos y no de sus familias...'. On this, see A. Abad Perez, OF.M., 'San Juan de la Penitencia', pp.119-23; 375-416, esp.p.392. Sometimes the founding patron specified which surnames the nuns or tertiaries should adopt. See B. Velasco, 'Fundación del convento de terciarias franciscanas de Santa Isabel en Cuéllar', A.I.A., 31 (1971), pp 475-83. (p.476)

32. Wadding, op.cit., XV p.596

33. Abad Pérez, 'San Juan de la Penitencia', p.38.

34. Wadding, op.cit., XV, p.594.

35. For discussion of the possible motives behind patronage of religious houses, see above, Chap.1. pp.38ff.

36. Isabel the Catholic's attachment to the Franciscan Order; see Azcona, op.cit.; J. Meseguer Fernández, O.F.M., 'Isabel la Católica y los franciscanos', pp.265-310; 'Franciscanismo de Isabel la Católica', A.I.A. 19 (1959), pp.153-95.

37. For an excellent study of this particular dynasty see Quintanilla Raso, op.cit.

38. Ibid., pp. 105-44. He was given the title of Marquis of Priego in a privilege dated 9 December 1501: ibid., p.147.

39. For this and what follows, see ibid., pp.147-8, 265-6, 300.

40. The third daughter, doña Luisa Pacheco, married don Luis Méndez de Sotomayor.

41. A copy of doña Elvira de Herrera's will is in the A.D.M., Priego, leg. 2-6; documents relating to the dowry of doña María de Puertocarrero are also from A.D.M., Priego, leg. 6, nos. 18, 61,62,63,65,66,67,69,71,75,76.

42. See D. Ortiz de Zúñiga, Annales eclesiasticos y seculares de la muy noble y muy leal ciudad de seuilla (Madrid, 1677): '...caso despues Don Fadrique, con Dona Elvira de Herrera, hija de el Famoso Don Alonso de Aguilar, con quien despues traxo largo, y dificil pleito de nulidad' (p.459). See also p. 497.

43. See A.D.M., Priego, leg.2-6, fol 17r.

44. Ibid., fols. 14v-15v.

45. Ibid., fols. 5r-6v.

46. Ibid., fols. 11r-v.

47. Ibid., fols. 3r-4v.

48. Ibid., fols. 4v-5r.

49. Ibid., fols. 5r-v.

50. Ibid., fols. 9v-11r; 11v-12r.

51. Ibid., fols 6v-7v.

52. Ibid., fols 7v-8v.

53. Ibid., fols 12r-14r

54. Quintanilla Raso, op.cit., pp.156 212

55. See A.D.M., Priego, leg. 6-60, fol 1r.

56. Ibid., fol. 1v.

57. Ibid., fol.1v. '... desde agora renunciavan e renunciaron ...asy a los bienes que ovo de aver por fin e muerte del dicho senor don Alonso su padre que santa gloria aya...e a los bienes e herencia que le podia pertenescer de la senora dona catalina pacheco...'

58. The relevant documents pertaining to this episode are cited above in n.41.

59. Wadding, op.cit., XIII, pp.212-3. Doña Leonora was the daughter of the Infante don Fadrique, Duke of Benavente, who was a son of Enrique II. She had fourteen children, eight boys and six girls, and after she was widowed she became a Franciscan tertiary and later a Poor Clare. On this, see J. Meseguer Fernández, O.F.M., 'Devoción de las clarisas de Calabazanos a la Asunción de la Santíssima Virgen. Un privilegio papal (25 de octubre de 1463)', A.I.A., 8 (1948), pp. 129-37.

60. Wadding, op.cit., XIII, p.168.

61. Ibid., p. 297.

62. Ibid, p. 297.

63. On this poet, see A. Deyermond, A Literary History of Spain: The Middle Ages (London, New York, 1971), pp.194-210.

64. The importance attached to the family pantheon is highlighted by the fact that the body of don Alonso Manrique, Archbishop of Seville, was transferred to Calabazanos more than twenty years after his death. See Ortiz de Zúñiga, op.cit., p.495: 'Con que lo hallo muy bien dispuesto su muerte, que sucedio en Sevilla en su casa Arçobispal, a 28 de Septiembre de 1538 y aunque se mando llevar a enterrar al Convento de Santa Clara de la Villa de Calabaçanos, sepoltura de su linage, fue puesto por deposito en el Coro, hasta trasladarlo a cuplir su voluntad el ano de 1559'. For another discussion on the significance attached to the family pantheons of the nobility, see M.A. Ladero Quesada, 'De Per Afán de Ribera a Catalina de Ribera. Siglo y medio en la historia de un linage sevillano (1371-1514)', in En la España medieval, IV. Estudios dedicados al professor D. Angel Ferrari Núñez (Madrid), 1984). I, pp.447-94.

65. These names were recorded in a document dated 14 November 1517. See A.D.M., Priego, leg.6, n.18, fol. 9r.

66. Ibid., leg.6, n. 66. The three discretas were doñas Aldonza, Clara and Françisca Manrique.

67. Ibid leg.6, n. 68.

68. Ibid., leg.6, n. 61. However, in January 1503, the sum of 400.000 mrs was returned to the Marquis as the nuns wished to have the amount in the form of rent. The Marquis offered the nuns a juro in Jaén worth 40.000 mrs annually and gave them fifty days to decide whether to accept. On this, see ibid., leg. 6, n. 62.

69. Quintanilla Raso, op.cit., pp.154-5.

70. Apparently the Marquis did not possess a juro which was acceptable to the nuns of Calabazanos. See A.D.M., Priego, leg. 6, n. 62, fol. 1r: '... por quanto su senoria por agora no tiene juro que dar a la dicha casa tal qual las dichas senoras de calabaçanos lo quieren...por que sy fueren contentas la dichas senoras de tomar quarenta myll mrs en jahen de ciertos mrs de Juro que alli tiene el dicho senor marques por privillejo de sus altesas que el las dara tanto que se busca el Juro que convenga para la dicha casa...'

71. On the Marquis' rebellion, see Quintanilla Raso op.cit, pp.151-3; J. Edwards, 'La révolte du Marquis de Priego à Cordoue en 1508: un symptôme des tensions d'une société urbaine, MCV, XII

72. See A.D.M., Priego, leg. 6, nos. 65-66.

73. Ibid., leg. 6, n. 18, fol.5v: '... el poder que el dicho senor gonçalo hernandez de cordova otorgo al dicho senor marques de pliego paresce no ser bastante por que al tiempo que otorgo el dicho poder al dicho senor marques hera como es comendador de calatrava e convenia para validacion del dicho poder especial licencia de su maestre por cuyo defecto no valio el dicho poder ni lo quo por virtud del se otorgo...'

74. Ibid., leg. 6, n. 71

75. Ibid., fol. 1r: '... avedes de coger y de rrecabdar en renta o en fieldad o en otra qualquiera manera las rentas de las alcabalas y otras rentas de la cibdad be cordova los anos pasados de quinientos y ocho y quinientos y nueve y quinientos y Diez.'

76. See Quintanilla Raso, op.cit, p.313.

77. For this and what follows see ibid., leg. 6, n. 18.

78. Ibid.

79. Ibid., fol.4r: 'Sepan quantos esta publica escriptura vieren como nos otras el abadesa e monjas discretas a convento de monesterio del a senora santa maria de consolacion de la villa de calabaçanos estando ayuntadas a canpana tanida segund lo tenemos de uso e costumbre de nos ayuntar para semejantes negocios tras la red e grada del

dicho nuestro monesterio...'.

80. Ibid., fol. 1v: '... de lo qual pedio testimonio pedro de valençuela que presente estava en nombre de la dicha senora marquesa de priego syendo presentes por testigos a todo lo que dicho es françisco de çorita mayordomo e gaspar de olmedo criado de la senora dona ynes manrrique e juan seco vezino de calabaçanos para ello llamados e rrogados fray juan bootello. Et yo el dicho pedro guerra notario publico...'

81. Ibid., fols. 6r-v.

82. Ibid., fols. 6v-7r: 'El dicho françisco de çorita mayordomo de las dichas senoras abadesa e monjas del dicho monesterio...dixo que...es mas provechoso para el dicho monesterio tomar los dichos ciento e veynte e syete mill mrs de la dicha senora marquesa que no tener los dichos treynte e ocho mill mrs de juro a que lo sabe porque el dicho monesterio no tiene previllejo ninguno de los dichos mrs de juro ni se le an pagado çinco anos e ocho meses ha ni tienen por donde los cobren ni es cosa segura e por que la senora marquesa e sus decendientes son personas poderosas e con esto el dicho senor marques su padre a pasado todo este tiempo que no gelo pago aunque yvan de parte del dicho monesterio por los dichos mrs e aun hovo mensajero que fue por ellos e estuvo alla seys meses e no traxo nada...'

83. Ibid., fol. 8r: '... que agora querian tornar a mirar e ver e platicer en ello e hablarlo con todas las monjas ensu convento e que deliberarian sobre ello lo que les paresçiese e çerca dello acordasen...'.

84. Ibid., fol. 9v: '...avian hecho e tendido dos tratados...'

85. Ibid., The Marquesa finally agreed to make a cash settlement to the nuns of 776.033½ mrs, and the mathematical accuracy which lay behind the calculation of this agreement is most revealing. The juro of 38.000 mrs per year had not been paid for the five years and eight months prior to November 1517, although the Marquis had paid the nuns 66.300 mrs in part compensation. What, then, was owed when the Marquesa offered to buy the juro back at the original price of 627.000 mrs?:-

5 years x 38.000 mrs	=	190.000
8 months	=	25.333½
		215.333½
Less compensation		66.300
		149.033½
Add purchase price of juro		627.000
Total	=	776.033½ mrs

86. On the Montilla foundation, see Alonso de Torres, O.F.M., op.cit., pp.117-8; On Aguilar, see A.D.M., Priego leg. 110. n.20.

87. On the rise of the political and economic fortunes of this dynasty, see in general Quintanilla Raso, op.cit.

88. Ibid., p.29

89. Doña Isabel Pacheco and doña María de Luna became Franciscan nuns, and their sister, doña Teresa Enríquez, founded the Franciscan convent in Aguilar.

90. This document is contained in A.D.M., Priego. leg. 6. n. 72. The presence of a 'curador' indicates that doña Isabel was under 25. On this point, see Gerbet, op.cit., p.170.

91. Baza was reconquered from the Moors in 1489. Don Enrique Enríquez and doña María de Luna also founded a male Franciscan house in Baza in 1490. See Alonso de Torres, O.F.M. op.cit., p.80.

92. The Baza convent had been founded by don Enrique Enríquez, uncle of Ferdinand the Catholic and brother of the Admiral of Castile. Doña Elvira Enríquez was a cousin of Ferdinand the Catholic. See Quintanilla Raso, op.cit., p.157.

93. A.D.M., Priego. leg. 6, n. 72. fol. 7r: '... quiero estar en el monasterio de santa Isabel de los angeles de la cibdad de baça que es de la horden de santa clara lo qual muchas vezes he comunicado con vos dicho marques mi senor e con grande ynstancia he pedido, e suplicado que me diese vuestra senoria liçençia para ello...'.

94. For a discussion on the legitima, see Gerbet, op.cit, pp. 222-3. For details of the amount doña Isabel offered the nuns of Baza as her dowry, see A.D.M. Priego, leg. 6.n. 73 fol 4v.

95. Ibid, fol.5r: '... et yo la dicha dona ysabel pacheco lleue e pase conmigo a la tal casa monesterio dondo yo fuere las dichas dozientas mill mrs restantes en los dichos veyntemill mrs de renta sytuados enlas dichas heredades e posesyones dela dicha villa de canete e su termino et ental caso acaesçiendo lo suso dicho el dicho monesterio de santa ysabel de los angeles ni vos las senoras abadesa e minjas e convento del non tengades ni podades tener derecho de posesyon ni de propiedad no senorio alguno alas dichas dozientas mill mrs que asy lleuare conmigo adonde yo fuere et conestas condiciones vos doy las dichas quinientas mill mrs e non en otra manera alguna...'

96. See Alonso de Torres, O.F.M., op.cit., p.459.

97. Quintanilla Raso, op.cit., p.309.

98. Ibid., p.156

99. Alonso de Torres, O.F.M., op.cit., p.459.

100. Ibid., p.118. The monastery, which was called San Lorenzo, was finished in 1530.

101. A.D.M., Priego, Leg.110, n.20, fols. 9r-v: 'En Montilla a 5 de enero de 1575 la dicha senora dona Theresa Enriquez hizo su testamento en que nombro por Patron de este monasterio al senor don

Alonso Fernandez de Cordoba Marquez de Priego su sobrino y a sus subcesores en la casa de Priego, y quiere que la Capilla mayor sea entierro de los senores de la casa de Aguilar.'

102. See Alonso de Torres, O.F.M., op.cit., pp.471-2.

103. The document consists of ten folios which list the number of properties, rents and incomes which doña Teresa donated to the convent; it also includes details of the number of nuns, the value of their dowries, and other special conditions stipulated by the patron.

104. A.D.M., Priego. leg. 110 n. 20, fol.1r.

105. The details of these donations are listed in ibid., fols 1v-8v.

106. Ibid., fol. 8v.

107. Ibid. ,fol 1r; 9r:

108. For an excellent discussion of the censo system in the area around Valladolid, see B. Bennassar, 'En Vieille-Castille: Les ventes de rentes perpétuelles. Première moitié du XVIe siècle'. Annales E.S.C., XV, (1960), pp.1115-1126.

109. These names are contained in A.D.M., Priego, leg, 110, n.20, fols 2r-6v.

110. Bennassar calculated the same rate of interest for censo loans in Old Castile. See art.cit. p.1120.

111. See above, n. 101.

112. The rise of the Aguilar dynasty is charted through their marriage alliances by Quintanilla Raso, op.cit, pp.156-7.

113. The Marquises of Villena also founded the male Franciscan house in Escalona in 1497. See Wadding, op.cit ., XV. pp.587-8.

114. For the details of the Marquis' political career, see J.N. Hillgarth, The Spanish Kingdoms, 1250-1516, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1978), II, pp. 355-9, 361, 593,597.

115. See Fr. Francisco de Osuna, Norte de los estados, op.cit '... creo que vuestras senorias hechiran tambien los monesterios: porque los parientes que tienen monjas y frayles/nos hazen creer que algunos de los que dellos nascieren lleuaran este camino: porque siendo los padres patrones de tantos monesterios: y los abuelos frayles de la Tercera regla de sant Francisco/menester ha V.S. poner entredicho a sus hijos que no vengan aca: por Dios dara para todo: porque creo Senor sin duda que nuestro senor dios a de restaurar en el matrimonio illustre de vuestra senoria todos los hijos que de vuestras quatro hermanas las monjas nascieran si se casaran'. (Prologue dedicated to the Duke and Duchess of Escalona).

116. See Michel Ange, art,cit., pp.51-4.

117. See A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.2943, n.12, fol.1r.

118. See Pedro de Salazar, O.F.M., op,cit., p.489.

119. Ibid., p.490.

120. Ibid., p.489: '... a fin de persuadir a las Gasquinas, y a la del Retamal, que tomassen abito de religiosas; dio su palabra que haria condos hijas legitimas que tenia...que con todo su legitima fuessem momjas con ellas, si tomavan abito'.

121. See A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.2943, n.12. The Marquis of Villena died on 6 November 1529 and the Marquesa on 26 April 1530. See Michel-Ange, art.cit., XXIX (1913), p.51.

122. Ibid., fol.1v: '... por quanto la voluntad de nuestro senor fue de alunbrar e ynfundir su gracia en dona francisca pacheco e en dona juana enriquez nuestras hijas para que dexado el mundo e sus vanidades tomasen el habito de la concepcion de la nuestra senora la virgin maria en el qual syrviendo a nuestro senor pudiesen merecer gozar de su reyno e gloria e ayudarnos con sus oraciones ayunos e abstinencias e otras devociones mediante lo qual asy mesmo merezcamos alcancar la gloria celestial e por que es justo pues por ellas e por su cabsa se fundo el monesterio de la concepcion de la nuestra villa de escalona...'

123. See above, Chap.2. pp.104-5.

124. On this particular Franciscan friar, see above, Chap.2. pp 103 ff.

125. Fr. Olmillos was promoted in 1527 to definidor of the Province of Castile and died c.1529. See Pedro de Salazr, O.F.M., op.cit., p.490.
'Es una cosa muy nueva y muy rara lo que acontecio en la fundacion deste Conuento, que no vinieron monjas de otra parte a fundar, sino diose orden que el Guardian de san Franciscoles enseno a aquellas benditas mugeres a rezar, a la orden y religion que auian de tener, y el recogimiento y religioso trato'.

126. A.H.N. clero/pergaminos, carp.2943, n.12 fol.2r.

127. Ibid., fol2r

128. Ibid., fol. 2r: '...Otrosi les mandamos quatro mill e quinientos doblas que valen un cuento e seyscientos e ochenta e siete myll e quinientos mrs en dineros contados para con que hagan la yglesia e sacristia e otras cosas que faltan por hazer en la dicha casa esto de mas e aliende de todos los mrs que se angastado hasta oy dia de la fecha e otorgamiento desta nuestra carta de testamento en los edificios de la dicha casa e en ornamentos e plata e otras cosas pero si nos en nuestra vida o de qualquier de nos hizieremos la dicha yglesia e sacristia e dexaremos todo acabado mandamos que se les den quinientos ducados e no mas para cosas que en la dicha casa avra necesidad...'

129. Ibid., Fol. 2v: '... otrosi les mandamos ocho panos de raz de ystorias de devocion de la pasion e otras ystorias que suelen estar en el oratorio de mi la marquesa e cinco panos de raz de entresuelos de los para que yo he enbiado a flandes a tamayo mi criado e un dosel del pricholado carmesi e damasco blanco para que lo tengan todo asy para honrrar el dicho monesterio e hazer molumento que en cada ano . se haze para la semana santa e para . que mejor se puede hazer el atavio y adereço de la dicha yglesia sy al tiempo que se celebrare e hiziere el oficio de la dicha semana santa demas de todo suso dicho mandamos al dicho monesterio un panico de oro e seda e de la ystoria de la huyda del nuestro senor a egito el qual nos dio el senor don alonso tellez mi hermano...'

130. Ibid, fols. 2v-3r: '... yo el dicho marques con la mytad de los diches bienes de suso nonbrados e declarados que asy dexo a las dichas dona francisca e dona juana e por su cabsa al dicho monesterio por virtud de las facultades que para hazer mayoradgo de todos mis bienes tengo privo e aparto a las dichas dona Francisca e dona juana de la legitima e subcesion e herencia que de mys bienes les podrian pertenescer e por su cabsa al dicho monesterio para que en ello ni en parte dello asy muebles como rayzes no les quede derecho

ni recurso alguno e sy por caso de la ligitima que de los bienes de la dicha marquesa le pertenecio puede pertenescer perdieren mas de la otra mitad de los bienes de los bienes sobredichos que ella les mando sea entandido que yo el dicho marques no les mando a las dichas dona francisca e juana e por su cabsa al dicho monesterio mas de setenta myll mrs del dicho juro e con ellos las privo e aparto de mi subcesion e herencia como dicho es e de todo lo de mas contenido en esta manda sea para la legitima que de los bienes de la dicha marquesa les podria o puede pertenescer....'

131. See above, n. 112.

132. See above, chap.3, n.10., see also Francisco de Pisa, op.cit. bk.I, Chap. XXVIII, fols. 45r-46r.

133. These were the convents of San Miguel, Santa Ana and San Antonio.

134. These were the Dominican convent of Madre de Dios, the Jeronymite convent of San Pablo, and the Augustinian convent of San Orcas.

135. These beaterios were known as the 'beatas de la Vida Pobre' and the 'beatas of San Pedro'. See Alcocer, Hystoria, fols. CXVIIr - CXVIIIr.

136. See M. de Castro, O.F.M., 'El convento de Santa Clara, de Toledo, segun documentos de los siglos XIV y XV', B.R.A.H., 174 (1977) pp.495-528.

137. See Martz and Porres, op.cit., pp.154-7.

138. Doña Juana, according to the terms of her mother's will, was brought up by her great-aunts, doña Inés and doña Isabel, who were abbesses in Santa Clara, and she remained there until 1444. On this, see Castro, 'El convento de Santa Clara', pp.562, 568.

139. These names are recorded in censo contracts preserved in the A.H.N., clero/pergaminos,

Carp.3123, n.1, fol.1r: 1455	Doña Juana, daughter of the Count don Afonso (Abbess)
	Marí Díaz Quexada (vicaria)
	Doña María de Guzmán
	Urraca Méndez
Carp.3123,n.5,fol.1r: 1457	Doña María de Ribera
	Marí Rdrígues de Toledo
	Inés Alfonso
Carp.3123,n.18,fol.1r: 1461	Isabel Rodrígues
Carp.3124,n.1,fol.1r 1462	Doña Catalina de Ribera
	Isabel Gutiérrez (provisora)
Carp.3124,n.11,fol.1r: 1466	Doña Catalina Enríquez
	Juana Ynigres (vicaria)
	Sancha Rodrígues
Carp.3124,n.19,fol.1r: 1471	Doña Beatriz de Portugal
	Doña Inés de Portugal
	Catalina Rodrígues de Robles
	María Alfonso
	Elvira Alvarez Maldonado

139	Carp.3124,n.20.fol.1r: 1471	Marí Díaz de Valladolid
		Marí García (mayordoma)
		Guiomar Lasa
		Catalina Muñoz (sacristana)
	Carp.3126,n.11,fol.1r: 1484	Doña Mayor Carrillo (abbess)
		Marí González (mayordoma
		Isabel de la Torre
		María de Piedrahita
		Juana Suárez
	Carp.3127,n. 9,fol.1r: 1496	Doña Theresa de Ayala
	Carp.3127,n.13,fol.1r: 1497	Doña Eufrasia de Rojas (vica
		Catalina de Vargas
		Juana Núñez
	Carp.3128,n. 1.fol.1r: 1502	Dona Luisa de Cardeñas (vicaria)
		Francisca Hurtado (provisora
		Francisca de la Cruz
		Aldonza Suárez
	Carp.3128,n.14,fol.1r: 1524	Guiomar de las Vírgenes (vicaria)
		Juana de Santa Clara
		María de Bozmediano
		Theresa de Ribadeneyra
		Leonor de belé
		Catalina de Torres
	Carp.3128,n.15,fol.1r: 1536	Doña Isabel Manrique de Portugal (abbess)
		Doña Beatriz de Aragón
		María de Mártires
		Leonor Nunez

139. Catalina de Bozmediano
Juana Téllez

The other two names mentioned in the contracts were Doña María de Guzmán, sister of Doña Mayor Carrillo who was abbess in 1484,(carp.3125,n.11) and Isabel González who entered Santa Clara in c.1465 (carp.3123,n.2; (carp.3124,n.5)

Doña Juana, who was listed as abbess in 1455 and in 1457, was the daughter of Count Alfonso Enríquez and doña Juana de Mendoza, and the niece of doña Juana and doña Isabel, the illegitimate daughter of Henry II of Castile. On this see Castro, 'El convento de Santa Clara', p.498

140. The wealthiest and most aristocratic convents in Toledo seem to have been San Clemente and Santo Domingo el Real. See J. Porres Martin-Cleto, La desamortización del siglo XIX en Toledo 2 vols. (Toledo, 1965) I, pp.141-7

141. M. de Castro, 'El convento de Santa Clara', p.509

142. There are no royal juros listed in the nineteenth-century disentailment records. Se Porres Martín-Cleto, op.cit. I, pp.185-8. In 1494, Isabel the Catholic asked the abbess of Santa Clara to transfer to the convent of St. Isabel so that she might learn more about the Regular Observance, see Azcona, op.cit., p.605, n.117.

143. The nuns seemed to have owned a large amount of land

in Yunchillos See Porres Martín-Cleto, op.cit, I. pp.185-8.

144. See N. Salomon, La campagne de Nouvelle Castille à la fin du XVI siècle d'après les 'Relaciones Topográficas' (Paris, 1964) p.179.

145. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos. carp.3126, n.10

146. Payment was usually made at Easter, the Assumption, All Saints, and Christmas. For special conditions attached to a lease see, for example A.H.N. clero/pergaminos carp.3124 n.4 (houses had to be built on a suelo in Yuchillos); carp.3125, n.9 (houses in the parish of St. Michael had to be kept in good repair).

147. Martz and Porres, op.cit., drawing on the information contained in the 1561 census, have reconstructed the social profile of each parish in Toledo. On the parish of San Pedro, see ibid., p.p.120-5

148. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos carp.3124, n.9 fol.1r.

149. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos. carp.3125,n.3.

150. Ibid., fol.1r

151. Martz and Porres, op.cit, define those of social distinction as being those holding municipal office, those with titles such as 'doctor' or Bachiller', nobility and clerics. In c.1557-61, the parish of San Nicolás housed ninety three widows but only eleven people of social distinction.

152. This parish housed 128 widows and seventeen people of social distinction.

153. A.H.N. clero/pergaminos, c.3125, n.2.

154. Ibid. '... el dicho senor dean ovo fecho e fizo gracia e donacion de los dichos mill mrs de tributo con el dominio directo dellos a maria de morales monja profesa del dicho monesterio...'

155. A.H.N. clero/pergaminos, carp.3125, n.8.

156. The relevant documents are A.H.N.,clero/progaminos, carp.3126. n.12; carp.3127, n.8.

157. For this and what follows, see Martz and Porres, op.cit. pp 120-5.

158. Quoted by Martz and Porres, ibid pp.120-1 '... mas de seyscientas tiendas donde no habita genta, sino sedas y panos y mercaderias'.

159. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos c.3126. n.3, fol.1r.

160. A.H.N.,clero/pergaminos, c.3127, n.1

161. This nun owned some land in Nambroca which brought in an annual censo of 290 mrs. See A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp. 3124, n.20; carp.3125, n.6. She also owned some property in the parish of San Andrés See ibid, carp. 3127, n.16.

162. Ibid. carp 3127, n.18; carp.3128, n.2.

163. Ibid, carp 3124, n1.

164. See F. Cantera Burgos and P. León Tello, Judaizantes del arzobispado de Toledo habilitados por la Inquisición entre 1495 y 1497 (Madrid, 1969).

165. See Martz and Porres, op.cit pp.141-53

166. Martz and Porres, op.cit., p.141

167 Ibid., p.142

168. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3127, n.4.

169. Ibid., carp.3127, n. 14

170. See P. León Tello Judíos de Toledo, 2 vols. (Madrid 1979), I. pp.511, 516-8

171. See A.H.N.., clero/pergaminos, carp.3130, n.17

172. See below, p.255.

173. A.H.N., cero/pergamino, carp.3124, n.5

174. On the dispute over the disposal of the parent's estate, see A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3125, n.11 According to Castro, these two sisters had taken their vows sometime before 1464. See his 'El convento de Santa Clara', p.509.

175. There are several references to this family in León Tello op.cit. See for example, I,p.284, on Fraime Anacahua.

176. For this and what follows, see Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, fols CVIv-CVIIr.

177. See Quintanilla y Mendoza, op.cit pp.95-6 Cardinal Cisneros was also a devotee of doña María de Toledo. See Bataillon op.cit. p.70

178. See Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, fol CVIIr.

179. In a document dated 9 December 1474 doña Juana de Toledo, the mother of doña María, is described as a widow. See A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3125, n.16.

180. The relevant documents are A.H.N.,Clero/pergominos, carp.3129, n.16; carp.3130, nos 6,7, and 11

181. See Martz and Porres, op.cit. pp.58-62

182. See A.H.N. clero/pergaminos. c.3129, n.16, fol.1r Doña Inés de Ayala, the great-grandmother of Ferdinand the Catholic, had received these houses from her great-grandmother, doña María García Meneses, which had in turn formed her dowry. On this, see C. Muñoz Roca-Tallada, 'Testamentos de doña Marina de Ayala y don Fadrique Enríquez, II Almirante de Castilla', B.R.A.H., 123 (1948), pp.561-85.

183. For a disccusion of terms such as 'corrales' and trascorrales', see J. Porres Martín-Cleto. 'Toledo y sus calles (Notas para un callejero toledano)' Anales Toledanos 1 (1967), pp.73-101. 'Podemos definir estos corrales como un paralelo urbano a los callejones sin salida, puesto que en la actualidad las plazas con una entrada solamente, sin que otra calle continue el itinerario al otro la de la misma, continuan llamandose corrales'.

184. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3129, n.16, fol.1r.

185. Ritual ejection is discussed in A. MacKay and G. McKendrick 'The Crowd in Theater and the Crowd in History: Fuenteovejuna' Renaissance Drama, XVII (1986), pp. 125-47. The example examined here is in A.H.N., clero/pergaminos., carp.3129, n.16

186. Ibid., fol1r. The merchants and the silk weavers

were ritually ejected from these houses by Lope de Villegas on behalf of doña María de Toledo and the convent of Santa Isabel.

187. Ibid. This merchant, identified simply as Carlo, was obliged to carry out the same ritual.

188. Ibid. Leonor Revel, the hermana mayor, and other beatas were ritually thrown out of their building and then re-admitted to acknowledge their new landlords.

189. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3130, nos.6 and 7. The parishioners of San Antolín were incorporated into the Mozarabic parish of San Marcos.

190. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp. 3130, n.7.

191. Porres Martín-Cleto op.cit. I,p.191 lists three royal juros issued in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. He places the convent of Santa Isabel fourth in importance among the female religious houses in Toledo, On this, see ibid, pp.189-190.

192. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3130, n.13.

193. Ibid, carp.3130, n.15, fol.1r. 'Sepan quantos esta carta de tributo ynfinityosin vieren como yo diego de mendoca vezino de la muy noble cibdad de toledo mayordomo del monasterio de senora santa isobel de la dicha cibdad de la observancia de la orden de santa clara en nombre de la muy noble senora abadesa e de las monjas del dicho monasterio otorgo e conosco que do e apodero a tributo ynfinitiosyn para synempre jamas a vos juan de carredo alguazil de la

193. villa de torrijos criado del muy magnifico senor don gutierre de cardenas comendador mayor de leon vesyno de la villa de torrijos que estades presente ciento a cinco olivas tres olivas mas o menos que el dicho monasterio de santa ysabel tyene e posee por suyas e como suyas...la qual dicha heredad el dicho monasterio de santa ysabel ovo por fyn del honrrado cavallero goncala pantoja regidor de toledo que dios aya e por razon de dona aldonca su fija monja profesa del dicho monasterio...'

194. A.H.N., clero/pergaminso,, carp.3130, n. 3.

195. In the nineteenth-century disentailment list, only five urban properties were recorded. See Porres Martín-Cleto, op.cit, I, pp. 188?93.

196. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3130, n.17. María González was the widow of the jurado Gómez García de Avila. The nuns were still receiving sixty arrobas of oil from Camarena in the nineteenth century see Porres Martín-Cleto, op.cit I, p.190.

197. For the details of the other bids, see A.H.N., clero/pergaminos carp.3130 n.17, fol. 2r-v. The carta de vendida was dated 9 June 1507.

198. The Camarena wheat must have been a valuable commodity in 1507 when the prices rose sharply. Alcocer provides a vivid description of the three disasters - hunger pestilence and warfare - which beset the city of Toledo in the year. 'Bien se puede decir que en este

198 ano de quinientos siete las tres lobas rabiosas andavan sueltas que eran hambre, guerra y pestilencia: hambre a dos ducados la hanega de trigo; pestilencia, cada dia morian en Toledo ochenta cuerpos y mas; Guerra, , en toda Castilla peleaban de noche y de dia y avia grandes devates...' See his Relacion de algunas cosas que pasaron en estos reinos desde que murio la reina catolica Dona Isabel, hasta que se acabaron las comunidades en la ciudad de Toledo. (Seville, 1872), p.22.

199. See Porres Martín-Cleto, op.cit, I, pp.188-93.

200. See.A.H.N., clero/pergaminos carp.3130, n.17, fol.1r. The following names were recorded in June 1507: Señora Doña María de Toledo (abbess); Juana Téllez de Toledo (vicaria); María de Avila; Eufrasia de Rojas; doña Francisca de Ayala. Interestingly, there was a señora doña Eufrasia de Rojas listed as abbess of Santa Clara in October 1502. Isabel the Catholic, if we recall, had required the abbess of Santa Clara in 1494 to transfer to Santa Isabel (see above n.142). It is possible that doña Eufrasia was also obliged to transfer to an Observant convent.

201. See E. Gutiérrez, 'La orden de las concepcionistas en su primer fuente histórica' A.I.A. 29 (1969) pp.381-99 (p.396).

202. Alcocer, Hvstoria de Toledo, fol. CVIIr.

203. Ibid., Fol.CVIIr.

204. On the parish of San Román, see Mortz and Porres, op.cit. pp.126-30.

205. Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, fol CVr-v

206. Alcocer, ibid, fol. CVr, states incorrectly that this beaterio became a regular convent in 1408. See Porres Martín-Cleto op cit, I. pp.197-8

207. A.H.N. clero/pergaminos, carp.3114, n.15, fol. 1r

208. León Tello, op.cit., II, p.607, n.1733.

209. A.H.N.,clero/pergaminos, carp.3114, n.16, fol.1r.

210. J.Gómez-Menor, Cristianos Nuevos y mercaderes de Toledo (Toledo, 1970), (41), n.101.

211. On the De la Fuente, see ibid, pp.77-94. The author points out that the De la Fuente were not caballeros as they did not sign the concordat of 1506. On the concordat, see E. Benito Ruano, Toledo en el sigle XV (Madrid, 1961) pp.305-10.

212. The relevant document is A.H.N.,clero/pergaminos, carp 3113, n.13.

213. On doña Inés de Ayala, see Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, fol. CVIIr; on doña María García de Toledo, see Porres Martín-Cleto, op.cit. I, pp.197-8

214. There is a reference to her sister in A.H.N., clero/ pergaminos. carp.3113, n.16; to her brother in ibid, carp.3114, n.2.

215. Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, fol. CXr.

216. Ibid, fol CXr. Another source states that María González De la Fuente was the founder of the convent: BN, ms 3840, fol.88r.

217. See Gomez-Menor, op.cit., 83, n.285.

218. On Aguilar, see above, pp.225 : on San Juan de le Penitencia, Toledo, see below pp.272 ff.

219. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3113, n.16

220. See a contemporary description of this parish quoted by Martz and Porres, op.cit p.69, n.1.

221. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3113, n.16

222. Ibid, carp.3113, n.13

223. Ibid, carp. 3113, n.17. The couple were obliged to sell as they owed 14.000 mrs to don Juan de Silva,

224. Ibid., carp.3113, n.18

225. Ibed., carp.3114, n.1

226. Ibid., carp.3114, n.5 and 6

227. Ibid., carp.3114, n.15, fol. 1r.

228. León Tello, op.cit., II, p.607, n.1733.

229. A,H,N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3114, n.16, fol. 1r.

230. See Porres Martín-Cleto, op.cit., I, pp.172-5.

231. On Inquisitional persecution of the De la Fuente family, see Gómez-Menor, op.cit., pp.83-5

232. For this and what follows, see Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, fol. CXr-v: Martz and Porres, op.cit., pp.142-3.

233. See, in general, the bibliography cited above, n.6

234. For this and what follows, see E. Gutiérrez, art,cit., passim and especially p.383, n.2.

235. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3113, n.4.

236. Gutiérrez, art,cit, p.396. '...cuando la cassa de S. P(edr)o de las duenas se vino cassi a despoblar,...entre otras que salieron fue una el abadesa que era Dona Phelipa, sobrina de la senora Don Beatriz, con ocho monjas que saco para irse a Portugal...' However, Omaechevarría claims that doña Felipa abandoned her plans to go to Portugal. See his 'Fr. Francisco de Quiñones, autor de la relación más antigua acerca de la concepción franciscana de Toledo', A,I,A. 33, (1973), pp. 61-75 (p.64)

237. Omaechevarría, Las monjas concepcionistas pp.75-6.

238. Gutiérrez, art.cit., pp.397-8.

239. Omaechevarría, Orígenes, pp.27-30

240. Ibid, Of those nuns adopting a 'religios' surname, five took the suffix 'de San Juan'; three 'La Magdalena'; four 'Concepción'; one 'de la Cruz'; one 'San Francisco'; two 'San Miguel'; one 'San Pablo'; two 'de los Reyes'; one 'San Antonio'; one 'de los Angeles'; one 'Santa Ana'; and one 'Bautista'.

241. Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, fol. CIXv.

242. Porres Martín-Cleto, op.cit., I, p.170.

243. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3113, n.7.

244. Ibid., fol.3r. '... por quanto era mucha utilidad e provecho de la dicha confadria por razon de lo qual vos vendemos los diches cincomill e quinientos mrs e dos pares de gallinas del dicho tributo a vos las dichas senoras abadesa e monjas e convento del dicho monesterio ynpuestos sobre las dichas casas por el dicho precio de los dichos ciento e sesenta e cinco mill mrs para ahorrar e redemir las dichas tres pares de casas tiendas e tienda e sotano de los dichos cinco mill mrs e dos pares de gallinas del dicho tributo que sobre ellas son ynpuestos segund dicho es...'.

245. Cantera Burgos and León Tello, op.cit. p.57

246. Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, fol. CIXv.

247. Ibid, fol. CIXv-CXr.

248. Ibid., fols CIXv-CXr.

249. A.H.M.,clero/pergaminos, carp.3115, n.18

250. See Gómez-Menor, op.cit, p.XXXIV. The nuns of San Miguel received a total of fourteen juros from the maestrescuela. For this, see Porres Martín-Cleto, op.cit., I, p.179.

251. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3116, nos 3 and 4.

252. Gómez-Menor, op.cit., p.XXXIV, pointed out the connection between the Alvarez de Toledo family and the Zapata.

253. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos, carp.3116, n.1, fol.1r-v '... por quanto nosotros tenemos contratado e concertado e convenido e ygualado con la onesta y devota religiosa el abadesa e beatas del monesterio de sant miguel desta dicha cibdad de meter a nuestra fija lucina rramires en religion en la dicha casa e monesterio para que syrva a Dios e a nuestra senora santa maria su bendita madre e de le dar e trespasar los dichos dos myll mrs e dos gallinas del dicho censo e tributo en la forma e manera e segund que de yuso sera declarado por esta presenta carta...',

254. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos., carp.3116, n.5.

255. Ibid., carp.3115, n.17 (San Salvador); carp.3116, n.1. (Santo Tomé); carp.3116, nos. 4 and 5 (Santa Leocadia).

256. Cantera Burgos and León Tello, op.cit. p.41.

257. A.H.N., clero/pergaminos., carp.3115, n.18. In the nineteenth century, among the properties inventoried for the convent of San Miguel, the following item appeared: '... los molinos harineros del Daizan en el Tago'. See Porres Martín-Cleto, op.cit I, p.178.

258. A.H.N., clero/Pergaminos, carp.3116, n.2.

259. Ibid., carp.3116, n.3.

260. See A.Abad Pérez, O.F.M., 'Nuevos documentos'.

261. Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, fol. CXIr.

262. These documents have been published in Abad Pérez,

'San Juan de la Penitencia'; and in particular P. Quintanilla y Mendoza, Archetypo de Virtudes.

263. Abad Pérez, 'S.Juan de la Penitencia', pp.4-5

264. Abad Pérez, 'Nuevos documentos', p.408: 'También escribe el PSalazar que fueron quatro las religiosas, porque se llamaban Isabel de Hungría, la Abadesa, Ana de San Francisco, Isabel de Santa Clara y Ana de San Gabriel'.

265. The statutes for the college of doncellas were drawn up Fr, Francisco Ruiz, bishop of Avila.

266. Abad Pérez, 'San Juan de la Penitencia', p.58: '... que sea de linaje noble, a lo menos que sea hijadalgo, y pobre y que aya nueve anos complidos...'

267 Ibid., p.36

268. Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, fols CXv-CXIr

269. Ibid., fol.CXIr

270. 'San Juan de la Penitencia', p.56.

271. Details of the location and values of these properties can be found in Abad Pérez, 'Nuevos Documentos', pp.381-402

272. Ibid., p.122

273. Quintanilla y Mendoza op.cit., p.214.

274. Abad Pérez, 'Nuevos documentos', pp.384,401.

275. Ibid, p.406.

276. For this and what follows, see Abad Pérez, 'San Juan de la Pentencia'.

277. Ibid, pp.7-9

278. Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo. fol.CXIr, 'Echanse cada ano seys suertes de a veynte mill maravedis, cada una para casamiento de Donzellas pobres desta cibdad, y el resto se gasta en seys Capellanes que sirvan el coro, y dizen missas, y las ofician, y en un Sacristan, y en un tanedor de Organos, y enlas cosas tocantes a esto...'

279 Abad Pérez, 'San Juan de la Penitencia', p.53

280. Ibid. pp 65-6. '... no se reciban muchas monjas con poca dote, por donde las monjas y el monesterio vengan en grande necesidad y se aya de gastar todo en su sustentacion, en Fraude y contra la intencion del fundador y de su Santidad, se determine todo lo supra dicho con condicion que no se reciba en el dicho monesterio alguna monja menos de quinientos ducados en dote y su axuar y lo demas que suelen dar y traer en los otros monesterios con sus dotes...'

281. The remaining female Franciscan convent in Toledo was Santa Ana about which little documentary evidence has survived. This convent also developed from a beaterio, in a retreat in the palace of the Duke of Maqueda, opposite the male Franciscan house of San Juan de los los Reyes in the parish of Santo Tomé. The founder was a beata from Ocaña called María González who, in 1513, received permission from the Franciscan Provincial Minister of Castile to

establish a formal community of the Third Order. In 1521, the nuns purchased houses belonging to doña Leonor de Alburquerque, the grandmother of Ferdinand the Catholic, popularly known in Toledo as 'la rica hembra'. Her houses were situated in the parish of Santo Tomé in the old judería, opposite Santa María la Blanca. The financial resources of the nuns of Santa Ana seem to have been modest as no censo contracts appear to have survived for the early years of this community.

On all this see Martz and Porres, op.cit. pp.142-3; Alcocer, Hystoria de Toledo, Fol. CXv.

282. The Rule of St. Clare forbade the direct exploitation of the land, with the sole exception of the kitchen-garden attached to the convent. There is some evidence, however, of at least one community of nuns baking bread in the convent for sale outside. In 1554, the nuns of the Conceptionist house in Olmedo were ordered by the Provincial Minister of the Province of the Conception to stop baking bread as it was proving too costly for the nuns.. On this, see MeseguerFernández, 'La concepción de Olmedo', p.188, n.8:'Por quanto la labranca de pan en los monesterios de monjas es tan costosa que se vee claramente ser en mucho perjuizio...y por las cuentas pareçe que en dos anos quel monesterio de la Concepcion de Olmedo a tenido labranca, allende del embaraco y desasosiego que a traydo consigo, a perdido el dicho convento por lo

menos treynta y cinco mill mrs. porquel pan venden barato al precio que vale y le sale al convento en cada carga que coje al Doble y aun mas...por la presenta rruego que de aqui adelante arriende las tierras, que se labravan, y se vendan las mulas y carreta y no aya de aqui adelante la dicha labrança ni se entienda en ella'...

283. On the use of censos as a system of extending credit, see in general Bennassar, art.cit, passim.

284. For a recent discussion on the 'price revolution', see H. Kamen, Spain 1469-1714. A Society of Conflict (London and New York, 183), pp.98-102.

285. Beaterios were not officially classified as tertiary institutions until 1582. See Martz and Porres, op.cit pp.36-7. There were several campaigns in the sixteenth century to bring the large numbers of beatas, particularly in Extremadura and Andalusia, under the the more direct control of the religious orders. See, Sánchez Herrero, art,cit., pp.412-3; A. Huerga, Predicadores,alumbrados,e inquisición en el siglo XVI (Madrid, 1973), pp.53-5.

286. See Above p. 210.

287. See appendix 3.

288. On this point, see Chap.1, pp. 38ff.

289. Martz and Porres, on the other hand, point out that one of the consequences of a man-poor society, such

as that of sixteenth-century Toledo, was a proliferation of female religious communities: op.cit., p.36.

290. On Manrique, see above n.64 on the Sotomayor, see Cabrera, art.cit.. p.188.

291. See Salazar op.cit., pp.490-1.

CHAPTER 6 FOOTNOTES

1. Pietro Martire de Anghiera, Epistolario, ed. J. López de Toro, in CODOIN (Madrid, 1957), XI, pp. 41-2.

2. On Sor María de Santo Domingo, see B. Llorca, op. cit., pp. 37-64, 259-71; V. Beltrán de Heredia, Los corrientes de espiritualidad entre los dominicos de Castilla durante la primera mitad del siglo XVI (Rome, 1939); J. Lunas Almeida, Historia del señorio de Valdecorneja en la parte referente a Piedrahita (Avila, 1930).

3. Bataillon, op. cit., p. 171. See also, in general, P. Sainz Rodríguez, La siembra mística del Cardenal Cisneros y las reformas en la iglesia (Madrid, 1979); P. de Quintanilla y Mendoza, op. cit. On doña María de Toledo, see above, chap 5, pp.251ff.; on Juana de la Cruz, see A. Daza, Historia, vida, y milagros, extasis, y revelaciones de la bienaventurada virgen Santa Iuana de la Cruz (Edition in the British Library : Zaragoza, 1611).

4. On Magdalena de la Cruz, see J. Imirizaldu, ed., Monjas y beatas embaucadoras (Madrid, 1977), pp. 31-62.

5. Fr. Luis de Maluenda, Tratado llamado excelencias de la fe (Edition in the British Library : Burgos,

1537). On this particular friar, see M. de Castro y Castro, 'El franciscano fray Luis de Maluenda. Un alguacil alguacilado de la Inquisición', in J. Pérez Villanueva, (ed.), La Inquisición Española: Nueva visión, nuevos horizontes (Madrid, 1980), pp. 797-813.

6. On this, see above, chap. 2, pp. 78ff.

7. See Imirizaldu, op. cit., pp. 53-62.

8. For an interesting discussion on the Inquisition's condemnation of ilusas, see C. Guilhem, 'L'Inquisition et la dévaluation des discours feminins', in B. Bennassar, L'Inquisition Espagnole, pp. 197-240.

9. On the political and spiritual influence of the Franciscan Order during this period, see above, chap. 1.

10. N.Z. Davis, 'City Women and Religious Change', in her Society and Culture in Early Modern France (London, 1975), pp. 65-95 (p. 66).

11. A. Vauchez, La sainteté en occident aux derniers siècles de moyen âge (Rome, 1981), pp. 243-9.

12. Ibid., pp. 247-8: 'Prière et méditation débouchaient parfois sur des états mystiques, au cours desquels elles revivaient avec plus ou moins d'intensité les diverses étapes de la Passion du Christ. Ces graces exceptionelles, qui s'accompagnaient de phénomènes de lévitation ou d'extases, suscitaient

la curiosité de la population locale qui se précipitait pour contempler la sainte "dans tous ses états" et toucher son corps devenu insensible ... Ce portrait-type laisse de côté un certain nombre de particularité propres à chacune de ces femmes, qui n'étaient pas dépourvues de personnalité. Mais les traits communs l'emportent sur les différences, surtout si l'on considére leur spiritualité axée sur la fuite du monde et le refus du mariage, l'extrême ascetisme et la dévotion aux souffrances du Christ. Certaines se sentaient chargées par Dieu de délivrer au monde et à l'Eglise des avertissements prophétiques et des "révélations", ce qui faisait d'elles les portes-paroles tout designés des mouvements réformateurs d'inspiration rigoriste, qu'il s'agisse des Franciscains de tendance "spirituelle" ou de l'Observance dominicaine'.

13. See above, chap. 4.

14. Chap. 5, passim.

15. On the imposition of the Regular Observance, see above, chap. 1, pp. 14ff.

16. See, for example, the role played by Cisneros in the trial of Sor María de Santo Domingo in Llorca, op. cit., pp. 47-50.

17. The principal trials cited are: AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit.; M. Ortega Costa, op. cit.; Carrete

Parrondo, op. cit.; Hamilton, op. cit.; A. Selke, El Santo oficio; Imirizaldu, op. cit.; Llorca, op. cit., especially pp. 259-71.

18. See above, chap. 2, pp.109.

19. On the geographical distribution of Franciscan houses, see above, chap. 1, pp.1859. On the role of the aristocracy as spiritual patrons, see Bataillon, op. cit., pp. 182-5; A. Márquez, op. cit., p.102, no. 2; A. Selke, 'Vida y muerte de Juan López de Celaín', pp. 136-62.

20. W.A. Christian, Jnr., Apparitions, p. 11.

21. Christian, Local Religion, pp. 15-19.

22. See above, chap. 4.

23. For this and what follows, see E. Commo McLaughlin, 'Equality of Souls, Inequality of Sexes: Woman in Medieval Theology', in R. Radford Ruether, ed., Religion and Sexism. Images of Woman in the Jewish and Christian Traditions (New York, 1974), pp. 213-66.

24. Ibid., pp. 245-51.

25. Ibid., p. 246.

26. For a discussion on the attributes of aspiring saints, see in general Vauchez, op. cit.

27. Commo McLaughlin, art. cit., pp. 235-6.

28. See above, chap. 2, pp. 57-9.

29. On recollect Franciscanism, see above, chap. 1; on Franciscan devotion to the cult of the Virgin, see bibliography cited in chap 5, n. 6.

30. See above, chap. 2, pp. 78ff.

31. I. Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman (Cambridge, 1980), p. 21.

32. On the messianism of Cardinal Cisneros, see in general Sainz Rodríguez, op. cit.; also Bataillon, op. cit., p. 71; on Quiñones, see Selke, op. cit, p. 112, n. 26.

33. The dejados were accused of using this word disparagingly to describe those who wept with religious emotion. See proposition 7 of the Edict against the alumbrados published by Márquez, op. cit., p. 231.

34. See R. Scribner's discussion of Host miracles in his 'Cosmic Order and Daily Life: Sacred and Secular in Pre-Industrial German Society', by K. von Greyerz, ed., Religion and Society in Early Modern Europe, pp. 17-32, 25-6.

35. Osuna, Gracioso combite ..., op. cit., fol. CXV^{r}: 'Y pues los nuevos herejes de nuestros tiempos no sienten bien deste sagrado mysterio a sazon viene el presente libro que compuso a seruicio y gloria del: porque al tiempo de la guerra son menester las armas: y al tiempo delas eregias son menester libros catholicos y buenas razones'.

36. For this and what follows, see above, chap. 5, n.13.

37. Quoted by Fidèle de Ros, art. cit., p. 228, n.1.

38. See F. Fita, 'Los tres procesos de San Ignacio de Loyola en Alcalá de Henares. Estudio crítico', B.R.A.H. XXXIII (1989), pp. 422-61, 512-36.

39. Fidèle de Ros pointed out that the first Jesuit work on the theme of frequent communion appeared in 1557. See art. cit., p. 234.

40. J.P. Dedieu, '"Christianisation" en Nouvelle Castille. Catéchisme, communion, messe et confirmation dans l'archêveché de Tolède, 1540-1650', M.C.V 15 (1979), pp. 261-94 (p. 286, n.1).

41. See Fidèle de Ros, art. cit., p. 236, n.2.

42. Ortega Costa, op. cit., p. 221.

43. Ibid., p. 221: 'Yo le dixe una vez que para que se confesava tan a menudo, que bastava confesarse una vez en el mes e otra vez dixe en mi casa: "estase Ysabel Duares syete oras con un fraile e quiere que le demos por amor de Dios" y esto le dixe a proposito que procurase de reposar en su casa y travajar algo con que ayudase a cunplir algo de sus nescesidades e porque me pareçia cosa superflua e peligrosa para una muger moça andarse todo el dia fuera de su casa visitando frailes y no porque yo le dixese por ynpidirle la confisyon'.

44. Also, see above, chap. 2, pp. 97-9.

45. See above, chap. 2, pp. 78 ff.

46. Ibid., pp. 83 ff.

47. The symptoms experienced by Alonso López de la Palomera, a weaver from Pastrana, are described above, chap. 2, pp. 99-100.

48. Ibid., p93.

49. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol. 61^{v}

50. See María de Cazalla's account of Isabel de Texeda's eccentric behaviour in Ortega Costa, op. cit., pp. 100-1.

51. Some caution is needed in interpreting this assertion as witnesses may have been asked a leading question. For example, Pedro Albadán was asked in Alcaraz's trial: '... si sabe que trabaja (Alcaraz) de atraer asi y a su opinion a muchas personas asi varones como mugeres especialmente biudas y donzellas y beatas ...' See AHN, Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol. 61^{r}. (Emphasis is my own). See also fol. 69^{r}.

52. Ibid., evidence of Doña Isabel de Contreras, wife of the corregidor of Escalona, fol. 75^{r}: 'Asi mesmo dixo que un dia de la dicha quaresma estando en la yglesia de sant miguel despues del sermon de la tarde vido este testigo estar asentado a alcaraz en un estanco y al derredor estavan asentadas dona francisca de zuniga muger del licenciado antonio de baeca y a soria donzella de la senora marquesa y ala dicha catalina ximenez su ama que les estava hablando y no sabe este testigo lo que les dezia

y que aeste testigo nole parescio bien aquel ayuntamiento y se fue sin el ama'.

53. Ibid., fol. 97^{v}

54. Carrete Parrondo, op. cit., p. 70.

55. See above, n. 38.

56. Fita, art. cit., pp. 431-2.

57. Ibid., p. 442.

58. Ibid., pp. 520-1.

59. See Bataillon, op. cit., pp. 10-51.

60. Ibid., pp. 44-51.

61. Ibid., p. 49.

62. Ibid., p. 49; 'En el espíritu del Arzobispo de Toledo, estos libros se destinaban ante todo a los frailes y a las monjas. Pero no podía menos de desear que se difundiesen fuera de los conventos, proponiendo a la admiración de los fieles, si no a su imitación, ejemplos tan sublimes'.

63. See St. Catherine of Siena's Obra de las epístolas y oraciones de la bienaventurada virgen sancta catherina de sena de la orden de predicadores (Edition in the British Library: Alcalá, 1512); M.G. Steegmann, (trans.), The Book of Divine Consolations of the Blessed Angela of Foligno (London, New York, 1909).

64. See, for example, Obra de las epístolas, fols. 38^{v}-39^{r}; fol. 144^{v}.

65. Ibid., fols. 225^{r}-^{v}; fol. 318^{v}.

66. Steegmann, op. cit., p. 210.

67. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso. cit., fol. 41^{r}. See also Ortega Costa, op. cit., p. 189; p. 195, n 34.

68. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol. 80^{r}.

69. Ibid., fo. 246^{r}.

70. On Isabel de la Cruz and Alcaraz, ibid., fol. 45^{v}; on doña María de Arias, see Ortega Costa, op. cit., p. 82; p. 95, n. 55.

71. On María de Cazalla's letters, see Ortega Costa, op. cit., pp. 258-9; on La Texeda, see Hamilton, op. cit., p. 123.

72. On María de Santo Domingo, see J.M. Blecua, Libro de la oración de Sor María de Santo Domingo (Beata de Piedrahita) (Madrid, 1948). The 'sermons' which Juana de la Cruz delivered whilst in a state of trance were allegedly written down by three of her fellow nuns. On this, see Daza, op. cit., fols. 61^{v}-62^{r}.

73. Osuna, Norte de los estados, fols. $LXXXV^{r-v}$; reference to Frenchwomen, fol. IV^{v}.

74. Ortega Costa, op. cit., p. 281.

75. Ibid., p. 327: '... dixo que notorio es leer las mugeres que saben leer a otras que no saben leer Vidas de Santos e Evangelios'.

76. For biographical details on doña Brianda de Mendoza y Luna, see ibid., p. 338, n. 29. See also F. Layna Serrano, Los conventos antiguos de Guadalajara (Madrid, 1943), pp. 159-271.

77. Ortega Costa, op. cit., p. 339, no. 39. The dowry was fixed at 30.000 mrs.

78. Doña María de Mendoza, a niece of Doña Brianda, and six other beatas were the first to enter the convent of La Piedad. See F. Layna Serrano, Historia de Guadalajara y sus Mendozas en los siglos XV y XVI 4 vols. (Madrid, 1942). III, p. 45.

79. Ortega Costa, op. cit., pp. 308-9, n. 63: Layna Serrano, Los conventos antiguos, p. 227: 'E todas estas beattas que assy an de ser de buen linaje e hijas de personas virtuosas e de gente honrada no maculada de ynfamia publica'.

80. Ortega Costa, op. cit., p. 308, n. 52. For a discussion on the literary and the intellectual interests of the Mendoza family, see in general H. Nader, The Mendoza Family in the Spanish Renaissance, 1350 - 1550 (New Jersey, 1979).

81. For this and what follows, see in general Ortega Costa, op. cit. This excellent edition of María de Cazalla's trial also includes numerous footnotes and valuable cross references with other contemporary alumbrado trials.

82. See above, n. 50. See also the evidence of Diego Hernández, ibid., pp. 87-8.

83. Ibid., p. 118: '... e questa declarante tiene un libro de la dicha Dotrina christiana e que un dia

oyo predicar a frai Pedro de Vitoria de la Horden de san Francisco diziendo mal del dicho libro de Dotrina christiana e esta declarante le fizo hechar en un suelo de un arca hasta ver que se determinava del dicho libro e mando a sus hijas que no leyesen mas enel...'

84. Ibid., p. 81.

85. Ibid., p. 81; '"No se aman syno por los dineros y por la hermosura. No veo onbre christiano a quien de mi hija, que me pareçe que no es mas casarlas agora que ponerlas a la puteria ... Quieromelas tener aqui; dexeme el mundo, que hasta que vea mudado y mejorado el mundo no tengo sino tenermelas aqui"'.

86. Ibid., pp. 329-35. See also the evidence given by María de Lucena, Ibid., pp. 48-9.

87. Ibid., p. 45: '"Bien creo yo, hermanas, que todas vosotras queriades yr al Parayso ... amad a Dios e guarden sus mandamientos"'.

88. Ibid., p. 252: '... dixo que estavan en una cozina muchas mugeres e la dicha Maria de Caçalla estava sentada en unas almohadas junto al fuego leyendo en su libro'.

89. Ibid., p. 253: '... dixo que avia mucha gente e le paresçe que todas eran mugeres e que le paresçe que avia mas de viente mugeres porque la cozina

era grande e estava llena e la dicha Maria de Cacalla leya en un libro e luego hablava e todas estavan callando, como quien esta oyendo un sermon'.

90. On the relationship between the beata and her confessor, see Llorca, op. cit., pp. 59-60. On María's miraculous wounds, see below, p.352.

91. For this and what follows, see V. Beltrán de Heredia, Historia de la reforma de la provincia de España, 1450-1550 (Rome, 1939), pp. 78-142.

92. Ibid., p. 127.

93. Llorca, op. cit., pp. 42-52.

94. Ibid., p. 267.

95. Ibid., pp. 61-2, especially n.61 where Llorca summarises the arguments put forward by Beltrán de Heredia.

96. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol. 84^{v}.

97. Fita, art. cit., p. 450.

98. For this and what follows, see Beltrán de Heredia, Historia de la reforma, pp. 78-142.

99. Lunas Almeida, op. cit., p. 177.

100. Anghiera, Epistolario, X, pp. 300-2.

101. See Francisco de Encinas' account of the career of Magdalena de la Cruz in Imirizaldu, op. cit., pp. 35-9. He claimed that the infante Felipe was wrapped in Magdalena's habit to protect him from attacks by the devil. On this, see ibid., pp. 37-8.

102. On Alonso Manrique's devotion to Magdalena de la Cruz, see Selke, op. cit., p. 74, n.4.

103. See, in particular, the letter written to the Inquisition by one of Magdalena's fellow nuns in Imirizaldu, op. cit., pp.41-9.

104. Ibid., p. 59.

105. María de Santo Domingo's humble background is alluded to in Llorca, op. cit., p. 264; Selke, op. cit., p. 45, claims that Francisca Hernández's parents were '... gente "honesta", más bien pobres y casi seguramente cristianos viejos'.

106. Imirizaldu, op. cit., p. 46: '... era hija de sus padres los cuales ella habia negado por ser bajos'.

107. Cosas notables de la ciudad de Cordoba (¿ 1618?) (Montilla, 1982). p. 71.

108. Quoted in J. Caro Baroja, Vidas mágicas e Inquisición 2 vols. (Madrid, 1967) I, p. 457: 'Que casi todas las mugeres que quieren engañar el mundo, fingiéndose santas, son de baxa esfera y de gente plebeya'.

109. On this point, see above, chap.

110. See Llorca, op. cit., pp. 43-4.

111. See the list of Francisca's devotos provided in Selke, op. cit., p. 53, n.28.

112. Maluenda, op. cit., chap. XLV.

113. Selke, op. cit., pp. 106-7, n.23, points out the similarities between some of the marvels attributed

to Francisca Hernández and similar episodes in the life of St. Catherine of Siena, whose book Francisca had read.

114. Quoted by Christian in Apparitions and Visions, p. 151.

115. Ibid., p. 184.

116. Ibid., p. 205.

117. See above, pp. 322-4

118. Imirizaldu, op. cit., p. 54.

119. On the emphasis the Franciscan recogidos gave to the cult of Christ's Passion, see above, chap. 2.

120. See above, n. 66.

121. See Lunas Almeida, op. cit., p. 160.

122. See Llorca, op. cit., p. 38, n.18; p. 49; Epistolario, op. cit., XI, p. 42.

123. Beltrán de Heredia, Historia de la reforma, p.99.

124. See Daza, op. cit., fol. 65^{r}.

125. AHN: Alcaraz, Procesco cit., fol. 47^{v}; 49^{r}.

126. Carrete Parrondo, op. cit., p. 70. See the evidence of the Pastrana weaver, Alonso López de la Palomera: 'En madrid me acuerdo en casa de la de Mendez, que me dixo la hija que se le avia representado o revelado que este Alcaraz hera un gran syervo de Dios ...'

127. AHN: Alcaraz, Proceso cit., fol. 271^{v}.

128. Daza, op. cit., fol. 56^{v}.

129. Llorca, op. cit., p. 269.

130. Sucesos politicos del reinado de Carlos V, Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), Ms. 1779, fol. 2^{r}.

131. On this and what follows, see Imirizaldu, op. cit., p. 56.

132. Selke, op. cit., p. 100.

133. Llorca, op. cit., p. 267.

134. Ibid., pp. 266-7.

135. Michel Ange, art. cit., XXIX (1913), p. 163. In 1524 another friar from La Salceda, Fr. Cristobal de Tendilla, had claimed that Francisca had cured Pedro de Rueda of sins of the flesh again through the miraculous powers of her girdle.

136. On this and what follows, see Osuna, Norte de los estados, fol. $LXVI^{v}$.

137. Llorca, op. cit., pp. 262-3: 'Que la dicha soror Maria in suis raptibus algunas vezes suele responder a preguntas grandes, ansy en theologia, en profundos articulos, como en cosas de la Sagrada Escritura y en cosas pertenecientes a nuestra santa fee catholica y a buenas costumbres y de la gloria del paraiso y de las penas del infierno y del purgatorio y de los santos Sacramentos, pero no a cosas vanas y curiosas y que son sin perversion de las almas. En tal manera, que a los que ansi la veen y oyen responder, parese cosa maravillosa, que una pobre mugercilla ignorante, como es la dicha soror Maria,

y criada en aldea, responda tan bien y aun algunas vezes mejor que cualquier maestro de Theologia y hombre de gran ciencia'.

138. Selke, op. cit., pp. 98-9.

139. See Daza's defence of the preachings of Juana de la Cruz in op. cit., fols. 61^{v}-62^{r}.

140. Selke, op. cit., p. 58.

141. Ortega Costa, op. cit., p. 115; 125, n.86.

142. AHN: Alcaraz, Procesco cit., fol. 172^{v}.

143. Ibid., fol. 283^{r}.

144. Ibid., fol. 84^{v}.

145. Ibid., fol. 82^{v}: 'Asi mesmo dixo que siendo este testigo enferma de ciertos desmayos que le tomavan y la dexavan medio amortezida acaescio un jueves de la cena que estando este testigo velando el santo sacramento en el monasterio de san francisco desta villa queriendo comulgar le vino un desmayo y se amortecio estando presente el dicho pedro de alcaraz el qual despues que ella torno en si y aviendo ya rrescibido el santo sacramento se llego a ella el dicho alcaraz el qual creyendo que este testigo se avia traspuesto pensando en la pasion de nuestro senor ihs xpo le pregunto que que era lo que avia sentido y que este testigo callo y no le rrespondio...'

146. Llorca, op. cit., p. 262.

147. Imirizalud, op. cit., p.55.

148. On this and what follows, see Llorca, op. cit., pp. 86-95; F. Fita, art. cit., passim.

149. For a physiological summary of the factors relating to fits of the 'mother', see N.Z. Davis, 'Women on Top', in her Society and Culture in Early Modern France (London, 1975), pp. 124-5. For a contemporary discussion of the symptoms of the 'mother' and remedies for it, see the conversation between Celestina and Areusa in Fernando de Rojas, La Celestina, ed. Dorothy S. Severin (Madrid, 1969), pp. 127-8.

150. See F. Fita, art. cit., pp. 444-5.

151 Ibid., p. 449: '... que estando consigo pensando como se avia apartado del mundo ansi en el vestir como en otras cosas de murmurar e jugar, le tomava una tristeça que se desmayava; e algunas veces le tomavan desmayos e perdia el sentido; e dos veces le tomaron unas vascas del coraçon que se revolcaba por el suelo, e la tenian otras personas, e no podia sosegar e la durava un ora, e otras veces mas o menos ...'

152. Ibid., p. 450.

153. Ibid., p. 453.

154. See Catherine of Siena, Obra de las epístolas, fols. 225^{v-r}.

155. On María de Santo Domingo, see Llorca, op. cit., p. 261; on Francisca Hernández, see Selke, op. cit., p. 77; on Magdalena de la Cruz, see Imirizaldu, op. cit., p. 56.

156. Llorca, op. cit., p. 261.

157. On María de Santo Domingo, see ibid., p. 264; on Juana de la Cruz, see Daza, op. cit., fol. 65^{r}.

158. On this and what follows, see Llorca, op. cit., p. 263.

159. Imirizaldu, op. cit., p. 55.

160. On María de Santo Domingo, see Llorca, op. cit., p. 59; on Francisco Hernández, see Selke, op. cit., p. 183.

161. Llorca, op. cit., pp. 268-9.

162. Ibid., p. 282.

163. Selke, op. cit., p. 57 and passim: '... yo mamava a los espirituales pechos de esta virgen muy pura que en Jesuchristo, su dulçe esposo, me engendro y me crio ...'

164. See the letter sent by Fr. Antonio de Pastrana to Cisneros, in Márquez, Los alumbrados, p. 72; see also Batallion, op. cit., pp. 68-70.

165. Imirizaldu, op. cit., p. 59.

166. Selke, op. cit., p. 127.

167. Imirizaldu, op. cit., p. 44.

168. Lunas Almeida, op. cit., pp. 178-9.

169. Llorca, op. cit., p. 264.

170. Imirizaldu, op. cit., p. 47.

171. Ibid., pp. 201-63. The sentencia of María de la Visitación has been published in ibid., pp. 179-97. Fr. Luis de Granada had been a fervent admirer of the nun until her exposure as a fraud. On this, see A. Huerga, 'El procesco inquisitorial de "La Monja de Lisboa" y fray Luis de Granada', Hispania Sacra, 12 (1959), pp. 333-56.

172. Imirizaldu, op. cit., p. 262.

173. Ibid., p. 256.

174. See above, n.8.